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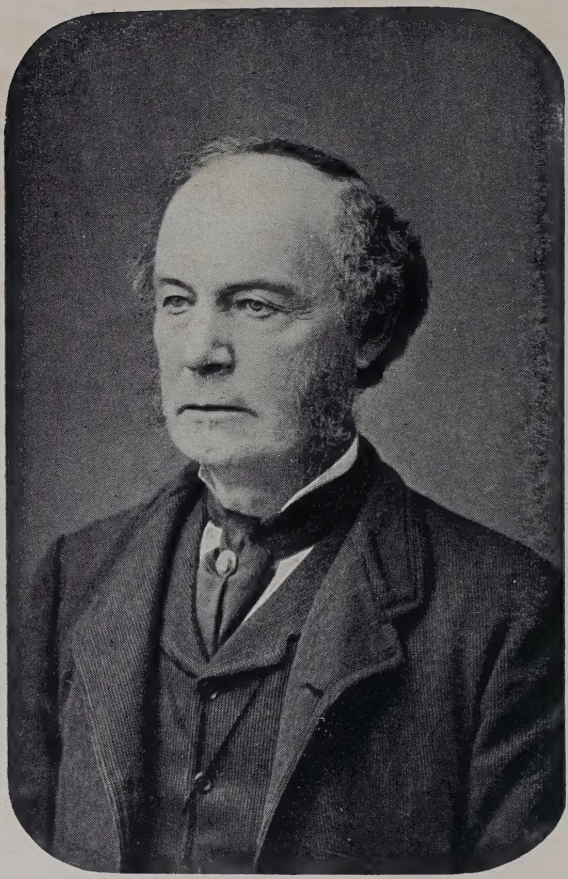

Yours very truly

F. E. Nightingale

MEMORIALS OF WILTON,

AND

OTHER PAPERS;

WRITTEN, ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS, BY THE LATE

JAMES EDWARD NIGHTINGALE, F.S.A.

(OF THE MOUNT, WILTON),

AUTHOR OF

"Church Plate of the Diocese of Salisbury"; and of "Contributions towards the History of Early English Porcelain", &c.

EDITED, WITH SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES, BY

EDWARD KITE,

Author of "Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire", &c., and formerly Assistant Secretary to the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

DEVIZES:
GEORGE SIMPSON, GAZETTE OFFICE.

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This series of papers, by one who gave too little of his wide knowledge of art and antiquity to the World, is dedicated, by permission, to the

RIGHT REV. JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., LL.D.,

Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

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In Memoriam.[1]

Since the issue of the last number of the *Magazine*, the Society has suffered a severe loss in the death, on February 22nd, 1892, of James Edward Nightingale, F.S.A., at the age of seventy-five. A frequent and most valued contributor to the *Magazine*, and, with his sister, a regular attendant at the annual meetings of the Society, he was recognised as an authority to be safely appealed to on all matters of architecture or art. But still, he was so retiring by nature, and had such a horror of putting himself forward in any way, that—except with those who knew him well, or who were themselves interested in the subjects he had made his own—his wide and varied knowledge scarcely received the recognition which it certainly deserved. In Wiltshire, perhaps, he will be chiefly remembered as the historian of the Church plate of the counties of Wilts and Dorset, a work which he undertook at the instance of the present Bishop of Salisbury, and on which he was continuously engaged for some five years before his death. The volume on the Dorset plate was issued in 1889; the larger and fuller account of the Wiltshire plate was not yet published at the time of his death—an early specimen copy which had been sent him during the last week of his life lying among the wreaths of flowers on his coffin in the room at Wilton in which he had worked for so many years. Perhaps with a feeling that his days were numbered—though his actual illness only lasted a week—he had been intensely anxious of late to complete this work without delay, and he did finish it, only a few weeks before his death.

[1] From the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxvi. By its Editor, the Rev. E. H. Goddard.

He had, however, none of the narrowness of the specialist about him, and before he devoted himself to the subject of Church plate he had made deep researches into the history of the various manufactures of English china, and had made himself a name as one of the greatest authorities on the subject, by his *Contributions towards the History of Early English Porcelain from contemporary sources* (1881); and by the gradual accumulation of a collection of both Oriental and English china, which for the value and beauty of many of its specimens can scarcely perhaps be matched out of the great national collections. His collecting zeal, however, suffered a blow from which perhaps it never quite recovered, in the destruction of a large number of his choicest specimens of English china at the burning of the Alexandra Palace, to which he had lent them for exhibition.

He had also a wide knowledge of the topography and family history of the county of Wilts, as many papers of his in the *Magazine* testify.

He was never an *archæologist* strictly speaking—prehistoric antiquities did not appeal to him; and even the works of classical civilization did not hold his interest as they do that of many. His strength lay in the fascinating field of Mediæval and Renaissance art. Probably few men in England had a wider knowledge of that extensive field of art which stretches from Byzantine and Romanesque times to the present, and which includes the architecture, the mosaics, the enamels, the art work in glass, metal, ivory, and wood, the ceramics, and the textile fabrics of Europe for more than a thousand years. He had, indeed, seen and studied all that is best worth seeing in the way of Mediæval and Renaissance art in Europe, and his knowledge was proportionately comparative and wide.

It was not, however, his knowledge, but his personal

character, which endeared him to those who knew him best. Quiet, unassuming, modest and reticent almost to a fault, singularly unselfish and generous, always ready to help others or to give to any good cause, he was one of those who won the *respect* of all who knew him, and the *love* of those who knew him well. Born at Wilton, and living there the greater part of his life, with his sister (for he never married); his remains now rest in the little churchyard of Fugglestone. He is one whose memory Wiltshire may well keep green, as not the least notable amongst her worthies.

E. H. G.

NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF WILTON.[1]

Although little now remains of its ancient importance, few places in this part of the kingdom can lay a higher claim to antiquity, or are more worthy of historical notice than Wilton. It probably derived its name from the river Wily, and, as the capital of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex, gave its name to Wiltshire. It was the occasional residence of the West Saxon Kings, and has been the scene of many stirring events. According to Palgrave the great battle of Ellendun, in 803, was fought here between Egbert, King of Wessex, and his rival Beornwulf; this, however, is controverted by other authorities. Beyond all doubt King Alfred fought and gained a great battle here over the Danes in 871; but Wilton was again fated to suffer from the fury of these invaders. In 1003 the Danish chief Sweyn landed on the southern coast and led his army to Wilton, which he plundered and burnt. In 1143 King Stephen came to Wilton, intending to build a castle to resist the rebellious holders of Sarum, but the Earl of Gloucester, having assembled a force for the Empress Maud, fired the houses and put the King to flight. Wilton, however, appears soon to have recovered from these severe visitations, and down to the middle of the thirteenth century, remained a place of no small importance. At that time the great western road, which had previously passed through Wilton from Old Sarum, was diverted by way of Salisbury, and from that time the town began to decay.

[1] A paper read at the annual meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society at Wilton, in 1870, and printed for private distribution.

From a very early period the borough by its early charters enjoyed the now almost obselete, but then important, privileges of return of writs, right of pit and gallows, assize of bread and ale, the liberty of appointing its own coroners, and other royalties, as fully and freely as the citizens of London or Winchester. Under the Saxon kings a mint was established here; the earliest pieces which bear the name of Wilton occur in the reign of King Eadgar. Edward the Confessor, and Harold II, also had a mint here, and in the time of the Conqueror, and his son, the mint was probably in a very flourishing condition, for not less than six names of moneyers appear connected with this town. After Henry III no trace of it can be found.

The ecclesiastical history of Wilton is even more remarkable than its civil history. Here was one of the three great monastic establishments of this district. The religious houses of Amesbury, Shaftesbury, and Wilton, were all of the very first order. The Abbesses of Wilton and Shaftesbury were baronesses of England by virtue of their office, a privilege shared by only two others. Each of them held an entire barony, and was summoned to serve by her knights in time of war.

Soon after the year 800, Earl Wulstan began a chantry or oratory here for his own soul and that of the martyr Alquimund. About thirty years after, King Egbert, at the earnest request of his sister, the now aged widow of Wulstan, converted the oratory into a priory of thirteen sisters, of which Alburga was the first prioress. This building was erected near the house of Earl Wulstan, and in that part of the town called "Kinggesbyri," most probably in or near the open space now known as Kingsbury-square. In 871, King Alfred, at the instigation of his queen, built a new nunnery on the site of the royal

palace, and removed the inmates from the former to this new house, which now consisted of twenty-six nuns, and was dedicated to SS. Mary and Bartholomew. King Eadgar, whose liberality to monastic institutions is well known, had particular reasons for being eminently bountiful to the establishment at Wilton. He had formed an attachment to a young lady of the name of Wulfrith, of a noble family, by whom he had a daughter, afterwards St. Edith of Wilton. The legendary writers inform us that after the death of his wife, he endeavoured, with great importunity, to marry this lady, but that she chose rather to devote herself to religion, and received the veil from St. Ethelwold at Wilton. It appears from the *Life of St. Dunstan*, that Wulfrith had been previously educated at this monastery, and that St. Dunstan subjected his sovereign to a severe penance for violating the sanctity of the cloister, though the lady was only there for the purposes of education, and had not taken the veil. The penance enjoined was that he should not wear his crown for seven years, practice frequent fasting and alms, and that he should found and endow the rich monastery of Shaftesbury: all of which, says the legend, the king faithfully performed, and his penance terminated in 973.

After the return of Wulfrith to the convent, she rose to the dignity of Abbess, which she appears to have retained a considerable time; she brought up her daughter, Edith, in the strictest rules of monastic discipline, and herself made such progress in all virtues that after her death she also was honoured as a saint. During her occupation, the monastery was put under the rule of St. Benedict, about 972.

St. Edith, one of the most interesting of the princess-nuns of the Anglo-Saxon race, has frequently been called Abbess of Wilton, but as she died young and during the

lifetime of her mother, this could hardly have been the case. She is said to have been appointed Abbess of Winchester, and of two other monasteries, when only fifteen years of age, by her father King Eadgar, but that she humbly declined all superiority, and chose to remain in her own community, subject to her mother. It is also asserted in her legend, that on the murder of Edward the Martyr by Elfrida, in 978, many of the nobles proposed to take her from the convent and place her on the throne. She built the church of St. Denis at Wilton, to the dedication of which she invited St. Dunstan, the Archbishop, and pointed out to him the place of her future rest. She died in 984, in the twenty-third year of her age, and was buried in the church which she had founded. About thirteen years after, her body was removed to the monastery, when she was canonized by St. Dunstan, and the monastic church assumed her name as its patron saint.

A curious metrical composition exists, written by some inmate of the monastery about 1420, relating at great length the lives and actions of the founders and benefactors of Wilton Abbey, from the time of King Eadgar.[1] Amongst much curious matter connected with the monastery is given a full legendary account of the life of St. Edith, and her miraculous power after death. She continued to be honoured long after her decease; in many of the calendars prefixed to the English service-books, and especially those belonging to Salisbury, her name is inserted on the 17th September. In the *Sarum Missal* there is an office appropriated to her.

It is not possible at this time to point out the exact spot where the church stood, but there can be little doubt

[1] British Museum, MS. Cotton. Faustina B iii.

that the great church of the monastery, and the monastic buildings, were placed pretty nearly on the site of the present Wilton House. The only existing relic, probably, of this period was dug up a few years since near the Pembroke Arms Inn; it consists of a bright yellow-metal bowl, ornamented with crosses at the handles: these vessels were called "gabatæ," and, bearing lights, were suspended in churches during the Anglo-Saxon times. This curious object is now preserved in Wilton House.

Amongst the Harleian manuscripts is the main portion of the cartulary of Wilton Abbey, consisting of very ancient copies of the original Saxon grants to the monastery before the Conquest.[1] They number thirty-four gifts, and range from the reign of King Alfred to that of King Edward, in 1045. Thus, in 892, King Alfred gave lands in North Newnton; Edward the Elder, property at Fovant; In 937 Athelstan gave lands at Burcomb, &c. King Edwy has generally been regarded as hostile to the interests of the Church; he is not even noticed among the benefactors of this monastery, and yet his grant to it was more splendid than that of any of his predecessors. By his charter, dated 955, he gives "for himself and his ancestors a hundred hides of land at Chalk, to God Almighty, St. Mary, and the venerable congregation in the Minster at Wilton;" declaring the land to be free from all secular burdens, and strictly forbidding anyone of his successors, *so long as Christianity should flourish*, to violate his grant under any pretence whatever. On a moderate computation, the land here given could scarcely be less than ten thousand acres. The Saxon boundaries are laid down with great minuteness.

[1] British Museum, MS. Harl., No. 436—a Saxon manuscript, A.D. 892-1045.

From the Conquest to the Dissolution, the monastery had very little real accession of property, and the additional estates mentioned at the latter period are mostly sub-divisions of its ancient possessions; thus Stoke Verdon, Berwick St. John, Alvediston, &c., were only parts of the hundred hides in Chalk granted by Edwy and Edgar, in virtue of which grant the Abbess possessed the whole Hundred of Chalk. At the time of the Norman Conquest the Abbess of this house is said to have been Christian, sister of Edgar Atheling,[1] the rightful representative of our Saxon princes. In 1272, Juliana Gifford was elected; whilst she was Abbess a knight of the name of Osbern Gifford, who most probably had gained access to the monastery through relationship with her, succeeded in carrying off two of the nuns. The offence, and the punishment inflicted, are recorded in the register of Archbishop Peckham. The offender was excommunicated by the Archbishop, and on his submission, enjoined as a penance, amongst other things, that he should be whipt with rods on three successive Sundays in the parish Church of Wilton, and as often in the market at Shaftesbury, that he should lay aside all insignia of knightly dignity, and only wear clothes of a russet colour, or sheep skins, and lastly that he should not put on a shirt till he had passed three years in the Holy Land; all which he swore faithfully to perform.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, evil days were approaching for the monastery. From letters written by Henry VIII to Cardinal Wolsey, and Anne Boleyn, it appears that on the advancement of the prioress to succeed the previous Abbess in 1528, Anne Boleyn had solicited the king to appoint a person who

[1] But this seems doubtful (see p. 18).

proved to be unworthy. The king says "I wolde not for all the gold in the worlde clog your conscience nor mine to make her a ruler of a house, which is of so ungodly a demeanour." It appears, however, that the purity of the monastery was not the only object the King had in view; it was found prudent in the meditated changes to procure such persons to be elected as were least likely to be troublesome by resistance. The final blow was struck in 1539, when this time-honoured Abbey was swept away. On the 25th of March in that year Cecily Bodenham, the last Abbess, quietly surrendered the Abbey and its lands, which for seven hundred years had served as a refuge and memorial of its pious founders.

Nearly all traces of the religious buildings have disappeared; nothing is now known of the great Conventual Church of St. Edith, the government of which was in the Abbess, and which once stood near the spot occupied by Wilton House; indeed, the only relic of any part of the monastery now remaining is a gothic building of stone near the present stables, and this is of comparatively late date.

The Bishops of Wilton, from Athelstan, in 909, to Herman in 1045, were rather prelates of a district called Wiltshire; the latter Bishop procured it to be annexed to Sherborne, and shortly after the Conquest removed the see to Sarum. Of the twelve churches mentioned by Leland, the fragments of only one now remain, that is, the church of St. Mary, Brede-street, which served as a parish church before the present magnificent edifice was erected. This could never have been a building of any great importance; the architectural details are poor, in the late Perpendicular period. The church of St. Nicholas, West-street, occupied a site very nearly the same as that on which the new church has been built; when the foundations were laid

there were many evidences that it had once been connected with an earlier building. The church of St. Mary, West-street, was probably not far from it; other churches existed, dedicated to St. Michael, the Holy Trinity, and St. Edward, but of these all traces are now lost.

Of the many early religious houses connected with Wilton, the Hospital of St. Giles still exists; it was founded by Adelicia, second wife of Henry I, for the reception of lepers. It was originally placed at Fugglestone, some distance from the town, as was customary with establishments for that purpose. Some forty years since [that is, about 1830] the establishment was removed and re-built further westward; it now consists of a Prior and five poor inmates, who are supported from the original grant. Down to the time of the removal of the old Hospital on the Salisbury road, the spirit of the foundress was supposed to haunt the locality; most Wilton persons who can recollect that period will remember the dread of meeting the "leprosy queen" after dark.

The Alms-houses rebuilt at Fugglestone some years since represent an old religious foundation, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, commonly called the Morlands. These cottages were removed from a site near the present lodge-gate leading to Wilton House; the spot is known as Almonry Corner, and might have been the place where the gate alms were distributed before the dissolution of the monastery. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his valuable history of Wilton, alludes to this hospital as being mentioned by Aubrey, but says he "could find no trace of it, and if it did exist, it was lost before the Reformation." The occupants are now old pensioned retainers of the Pembroke family; the original estates are probably merged in the Abbey lands.

There is still another religious foundation in which the remnants of the original establishment are to be found. At Ditchampton, adjoining the borough, still exists the Chapel and some remains of the old Hospital of St. John. It was founded during the reign of Richard I, about the year 1190, and is supposed to have been connected with the Knights' Hospitallers, or military order of St. John of Jerusalem; possibly one of the hospices which were erected for the convenience of the religious when travelling, and when the chief duties of the residing Prior were to afford provisions, rest, and the means of devotion to those brethren whose necessities required them. There is still a tradition that dole bread was once distributed here to all wayfarers, similar to that of St. Cross, near Winchester. At the time of the dissolution there were four poor alms-men residing in it; that number is still kept up, and are now lodged in the new almshouses built by the present Prior.

On the high ground midway between Wilton and Old Sarum is a site of great interest connected with the history of romance in the middle ages; it was one of the five places appointed by Richard I for holding Tournaments; at that time Old Sarum was in its glory, and the King's palace at Clarendon much frequented.

After the dissolution of the monastery, the site of the building and the greater part of the extensive estates were granted to Sir William Herbert, who married Anne, sister of Katharine Parr, last wife of Henry VIII; they have regularly descended to the present Earl of Pembroke —and thus the lands, given principally by the Saxon monarchs in the tenth century, have for nine hundred years remained without changing hands, with the important exception of their transference from religious to secular uses in the sixteenth century.

The earliest portion of the present Wilton House is on the south side; this must have been built soon after it came into possession of the present family. Old Sarum seems to have been a quarry of stone, open to all comers, after the Cathedral and Close of Salisbury had been built; Aubrey says "In Edward the Sixth's time the great house of the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton, was built with the ruins of it."

With the reign of Elizabeth, Wilton is linked by a train of interesting circumstances. Here Sir Philip Sidney, who was brother to the Countess of Pembroke, wrote his *Arcadia*; many of the pastoral descriptions of scenery were probably taken from Wilton Park. To quote Aubrey again, who held the manor farm of Broad Chalk under the Earl of Pembroke:—

"The Arcadia and Daphne is about Vernditch and Wilton; and these romancy plaines and boscages did, no doubt, conduce to the heightening of Sir Philip Sidney's phansie. He lived much in these parts, and his most masterly touches of his pastoralls he wrote here upon the spott, where they were conceived. 'Twas about these purlieus that the muses were wont to appeare to Sir Philip Sidney, and where he wrote down their dictates in his table-book. For these nimble fugitives, except they be presently registered, fly away, and perhaps can never be caught again. But they were never so kind to appeare to me, though I am the usufructuary: it seems they reserve that grace only for the proprietors, to whom they have continued a constant kindnesse for a succession of generations of the no lesse ingenious than honorable family of the Herberts."

In one of his sonnets to Stonehenge, Sir Philip Sidney says:—

"Neere *Wilton sweete* huge heapes of stones are found,
But so confusede, that neither an eye
Can count them just, nor reason reason trye,
What force brought them to so unlikely ground."

Arthur Massinger, the father of the poet, was attached to the household of the Earl of Pembroke: the

great dramatist himself spent at least a portion of his youth here. Aubrey says distinctly "Mr. Philip Massenger, author of several good playes, was a servant to his lordship, and had a pension of twenty or thirty pounds per annum, which was payed to his wife after his decease". The biographers of Massinger do not mention this circumstance at all. It is said that his character of Sir Giles Overeach, in the "*New way to pay old debts*", was drawn from Sir Giles Mompesson, a Wiltshire gentleman. Shakspear is reported to have assisted in the performance of some of his plays here. The Earl of Pembroke was one of his great patrons.[1]

In the year 1574 Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Wilton; her entertainment here is thus described :—

"The Queene's Majesty returning from Bristowe her Highnesse was receaved by the Earl [Henry, second Earl of Pembroke] accompanyed with many of his honorable and worshipfull friends, on a fayre, large, and playn hill, about five miles from Wilton; having a good band of men in all their livery coats, well horsed, who being placed in one rank, another line of the Earl's *gentlemen servants*[2] stood about a stone's cast behind their masters on horseback in like order. The

[1] The earliest folios of his *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* were dedicated to "the most noble and incomparable paire of brethren, William, Earle of Pembroke, and Philip, Earle of Montgomery", &c.

[2] In the accompanying illustration we have the effigy of one of the "gentlemen servants", or retainers, of the Earl of Pembroke, who, no doubt, took part in the reception of Queen Elizabeth at

Queene's Grace stayed on the southern hill untill all were passed, looking and viewing them as they passed by; and when her Majesty entered in att the outer gate, the Countesse, with divers ladyes and gentlemen meekly received her Highnesse. This outer court was beset on both sides the way with the Earl's men, as thick as could be, standing one by another, through which lane her grace passed in her chariott, and lighted at the inner gate. Her Highness lay at Wilton till Monday, when, after dinner her grace removed to Salisbury; during all which time her Majesty was boeth merry and pleasant."

James I held a brilliant court at Wilton in November 1603. According to Aubrey, Charles I "did love Wilton above all places, and came thither every summer. It was he that did put Philip, Earl of Pembroke, upon making this magnificent garden, and to build that side of the house that fronts the garden." This was designed by Solomon de Caus, but being afterwards burnt, the south side of the house as it now stands was "re-edified by the advice of Inigo Jones, but he being then very old, could not be there in person, but left it to Mr. Webb, who married his niece." Few alterations were made in the house from that time till the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was enlarged so as to adapt it for the better display of its rich stores of sculpture and painting; the chief feature in this alteration was the formation of a cloister within the quadrangle.

The large collection of works of art to be found here is well known; the Vandykes are magnificent, and amongst the early paintings may be noticed the celebrated dypticon of Richard II.[1] The monarch is represented in profile, kneeling, surrounded by his patron

Wilton, in 1574. It represents John Coffer, who served both the first and second Earls for 38 years, and died in 1585. His brass still remains in Wilton Church.

[1] This has since been re-produced by the Arundel Society, with an accompanying description by G. Scharf, F.S.A. [1882].

saints, the Virgin and angels; the ground is golden, the colours in distemper are brilliant, and the finishing delicate as a miniature. The arms of the King, the broom-pod (Plantagenet), and the white hart derived from his mother, are seen on the robe; it was, probably, painted soon after his accession in 1377. It has great interest in connection with the now restored Westminster portrait of the same monarch deposited in the Jerusalem chamber.

There are also preserved in the entrance-hall of Wilton House some fine suits of armour; they are as remarkable for their interest as for their beauty. They consist of suits taken from the Constable Montmorency, Duc de Montpensier, and Louis de Bourbon, at the battle of St. Quentin, in 1557, when a victory was gained over the French by the Spaniards, with the co-operation of a brave band of English sent by Queen Mary, under the command of William, the first Earl of Pembroke.

The owners of Wilton since that time have been, with few exceptions, men of remarkable character; they have supplied soldiers, and statesmen, and enlightened patrons of the Fine Arts, down to the present generation, when the name of Herbert is still remembered with affection and respect.

On the Succession of the Abbesses of Wilton, with some notice of Wilton Seals.[1]

The earliest monastic foundation of Wilton, as distinct from its occupation by the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, seems to have been in something like the following order:—Seculars, *circa* A.D. 773; a Benedictine nunnery under a prioress, 803; and the enlarged establishment presided over by an abbess, in 871. The monastery thus constituted continued until the time of its dissolution in 1539.

The object of this paper is to give a further addition to the already not inconsiderable list of abbesses recorded in Hoare's *Modern Wilts*, as well as other particulars relating to some of them, their seals, &c. The usual sources of information concerning the heads of religious houses, hitherto available, have been Dugdale's *Monasticon*, with Browne Willis's additions to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, made in 1774; but we may look for more original matter, as well as some probable corrections, when it is found possible to make more easily available the rich treasures of manuscripts and charters which are understood to be still collecting in the British Museum.

A great deal of curious information connected with the Abbey of Wilton is to be found in the *Chronicon Vilodunense*, a manuscript preserved in the Cottonian Library, and now generally accessible from a printed copy made by Sir R. C. Hoare in 1830.[2] It may be termed the Legendary History of Wilton Abbey in metre,

[1] From the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xix (1881).

[2] A less costly edition has since been published by C. Horstmann, late Professor of English in the University of Berlin. Heilbronn, 1883.

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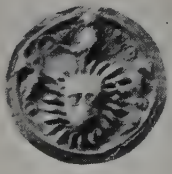

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11

WILTON SEALS.

and was no doubt written for the instruction of the recluses; as a genuine specimen of the ancient Wiltshire dialect it is exceedingly valuable. From internal evidence it is clear that it was composed about the year 1420, by someone dwelling in Wilton and connected with the monastery. The chief source of the compilation is expressly said to have been an ancient legend, written some three hundred and forty years before, that is about A.D. 1080, in the reign of the Conqueror. It is, no doubt, encumbered with a vast deal of legendary matter, relating to the alleged miracles of St. Edith, but there is no reason to suppose that the historical notices of the Abbey are otherwise than correct. The metre of the poem is most irregular; in the printed copy each stanza is numbered consecutively. Leland made considerable use of this manuscript in his *Collectanea*, which matter was afterwards copied in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Leland's abstract of the chief historical particulars of the poem, however, ends at the 257th stanza.[1]

The first Abbess of Wilton was RADEGUNDE, A.D. 871. She is mentioned in the *Chronicon* as having founded the establishment, with twelve other "maydones," to which was added the prioress and twelve nuns from the older foundation. The first community thus consisted of twenty-six persons (see *stanzas* 155-157).

ÆLFGYTH was Abbess at the time when King Edwy made the large grants of land at Chalk, in 955, to "God Almighty, and St. Mary, and the venerable congregation in the Minster at Wilton."

WULFTHRYTH, WULFTRUDE, or WOLTRUD, was Abbess of Wilton soon after A.D. 968. She was placed in the monastery of Wilton to be educated, and was there seen

[1] Preface to the *Chronicon Vilodunense*, by W. H. Black, p. x.

by King Edgar; the story of her abduction is well known (see p. 3); the holy lives afterwards spent in the monastery of Wilton by herself and her daughter, St. Edith, are found abundantly recorded in the *Chronicon*. St. Dunstan subjected his sovereign to a severe penance for violating the sanctity of the cloister. Edith lived at Wilton with her mother, the Abbess Wultrud, where she built a chapel in honour of St. Denis, at the consecration of which St. Dunstan foretold her early death and burial in the new church she had founded. Of this chapel, built by St. Edith, we get some particulars from the *Chronicon*. In *stanza* 443 it says that she built "a fulle fayre chapell of *lyme and stone*." How far the chronicler of 1420 in this instance followed his earlier authority it is impossible to say, but we know for certain that the church of the monastery, as it then existed, was built of wood, as it was re-built of stone by the Queen of Edward the Confessor, about a century later. We also get from the same authority some particulars of the decoration of this chapel. In the following *stanzas* we are told "that a porch was made before this chapel by good advice, with three small entrance gates, on which were set cross-wise three crosses of right good painting of the Passion and Sepulchre of our Lord, and the image of St. Denis, in gold and azure and many other colours"; that the walls were 'right royally' painted, also with gold and azure and other colours. St. Wultrud died 20th September, A.D. 1000 (*stanza* 772).

After the death of St. Wultrud an interval occurs when two Abbesses reigned of whom nothing is known. This we learn from the *Chronicon* (*stanza* 563), where it is stated that BRYGHTWYDE was third Abbess after St. Wultrud. She is mentioned (*stanza* 1075), as Abbess when a certain miracle was performed in the twenty-third

year of the reign of Edward the Confessor, the year before his death. This must also have been about the time of the death of the Abbess Bryghtwyde, for we also learn on the same authority that she was succeeded by Alfyne (see *stanzas* 1152 and 1158).

This Abbess Alfyne governed the Abbey for two years and a half before the death of Edward the Confessor, and one year in the time of William the Conqueror, when "hurre soule past up to hevene blys". She was buried "in a ston" [stone coffin] between Wultrud and Bryghthwyne before the altar of the Angel Gabriel (*stanzas* 1168-1180). The chronicler then goes on to say, these were days of great peace amongst the sisterhood, with all manner of prosperity, speed, and grace; that the house was open to rich and poor, with meat and drink for all comers. In the 1214th and subsequent *stanzas* we are told a curious story of a visit paid by a lady of the monastery to Herman, Bishop of Sarum, for the purpose of getting some wrong redressed. The name of this lady was Tole, she is alluded to as being sister to the Abbess Alfyne.[1] The successor of Alfyne, "a lady," had a vision of her coming preferment from St. Edith, but the chronicler does not mention her name (*stanza* 1182).

[1] Amongst the former possessions of the Church of Wilton mentioned in Domesday are "two hides of land, which in the time of Edward the Confessor had been given to the monastery by one Toret with his two daughters, from which they were to be always clothed, &c., which hides were unjustly taken by Odo, Bishop of Baieux." Canon Jones, in his *Domesday for Wiltshire* has pointed out that these two hides were situated at Ditchampton, adjoining Wilton, and were then held by the Bishop of Baieux, half-brother to the Conqueror.

The name of Toli is found in Domesday as one of the owners or tenants of lands at Tollard, in the Hundred of Chalk. Canon Jones thinks it possible that the name of Tol-lard may have derived its origin from this tenant or owner.

On the eve of the Conquest, we learn from Mr. Freeman's history of that event (vol. ii, p. 513, 1st ed.), who, after alluding to the building of Westminster Abbey by her husband, Edward, the consecration of which took place on December 28th, 1065, says :

"The great ceremony had been preceded by a lesser one of the same kind. The Lady Eadgyth had re-built the church of the nuns at Wilton, the church of her sainted namesake, the daughter of Edgar. The fabric had hitherto been of wood, but the Lady now reared a stone minster, pressing on the work with unusual haste, in pious rivalry with her husband. The new building was hallowed by Herman, the bishop of the diocese."

In the account of Wilton Abbey given in *Modern Wilts*, which was written by the Rev. John Offer, and who died almost before its completion, it is stated that the Abbess of Wilton at the time of the Conquest was Christina, sister of Edgar Atheling, but Mr. Freeman has the following passage in his *History of the Norman Conquest*. Not long before the Conqueror's death " Æthling Eadgar, discontented with the small honour he received at William's hands, left his court by leave, and went at the head of two hundred knights to join the Norman warriors in Apulia. His sister Christina, about the same time, took the veil in the Abbey of Romsey, of which before many years she became the abbess".

Six years after the Conquest we get a gleam of light thrown on the Abbey of Wilton and its inmates from the contents of a charter, a copy of which has lately been found amongst the Chapter muniments at Wells.[1] It is dated 28th February, 1072, and is simply a deed of sale of certain lands at Combe, in Somerset, to the Bishop of

[1] *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society*, vol. xxii. The document itself is a transcript made in the fifteenth century, but from internal evidence it is considered by Professor Earle to be undoubtedly a copy of the original.

Wells; but the transaction took place at Wilton, before the royal Editha, who had received her education in this monastery. Here the widow of Edward the Confessor, the sister of Harold, the daughter of Godwine, lived in quasi-regal state, surrounded by a following purely English, with not a Norman name among the officers of her household. The bargain was made before the twenty-six witnesses in the up-flooring of the church: Mr. Freeman regards this as the triforium, and says, "as the up-floor[1] was used for the transaction of business attended by many witnesses, we may suppose that it was a large, lofty upper storey, such as is found in many Norman minsters. The Church of Wilton, in short, followed the proportions of Waltham and Norwich, not those of Gloucester and Tewkesbury." It will thus be seen that the widowed Queen of St. Edward was living at the monastery in semi-regal state, but she is not mentioned as actually presiding over the house as abbess. This connection of Eadgyth with the monastery perhaps accounts for the tenderness shewn to the Abbey of Wilton by William the Conqueror. In *stanza* 1095 of the *Chronicon* we are told of William that "he lovede welle Seynt Edus Abbay, and meche gode to hit he oft tymes dede." Of William Rufus the chronicler has no good word to say. For the list of abbesses since the Conquest the writer has been enabled to make several additions from documents

[1] "In that upfloor, nigh before the lady [the Confessor's widow], Azor sold his land to the Bishop, and the purchase was witnessed by twenty-six persons, all of whom, save one or two, we may safely pronounce to be Englishmen. After a long list of names, some of which are not unknown in Domesday, and the Charters; the last signatures are those of her two cooks, one bearing the good English name of Æthelric; the other, Rabel, is more doubtful. But as the deed was drawn up in Lent, the services of both of them were, for the moment, less important than usual."

connected with the monastery of Wilton, now preserved in the muniment room at Wilton House, he having lately had the opportunity of being present when the Commissioner for the Preservation of Historical Documents examined these records. The names of all the abbesses which were found in the manuscripts of the collection were noted, and are as complete as the limited opportunities of the writer would allow. By the kind courtesy of the Earl of Pembroke a few of these documents now appear in an epitomised form, to which the seals of some interest are attached. These documents must not be taken to represent any important items in the collection, in which there seems to be nothing earlier than the twelfth century, but have been mainly selected on account of their seals; the information, however, they convey is not inconsiderable, and the names found as attesting witnesses will, at least, have some local interest.

The four great monastic establishments presided over by abbesses, which are found constantly referred to in mediæval times, occur in the following order:—Wilton —St. Mary's, Winchester—Shaftesbury—and Barking. These abbesses were, at least, on one occasion, summoned to sit in Parliament, although Fuller, in his *Church History* (book vi) states the contrary. The Abbess of Wilton was summoned to Parliament at Westminster, 34 Edw. I[1] [1306], on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, for the purpose of treating upon an aid for making the King's eldest son a knight. The presentation of a nun to this monastery appears to have been a royal prerogative upon every coronation,[2] according to charters printed by Dugdale.

Hawise, Abbess of Wilton, occurs twice in Pembroke

[1] Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i, p. 164.

[2] This was also the case in the neighbouring monastery of Amesbury.

manuscripts of about the middle of the twelfth century. To one of these charters is attached an impression of her seal, in a fragmentary condition. It is a large pointed-oval seal of green wax, having a standing female figure with arms extended, and holding what seems to be a key in her left hand. In these documents, which are apparently early in the reign of Henry II, the Church of St. Olave,[1] as well as that of St. Edith, is mentioned; also a grant of land to R. Salvage, at Fovant. Leland, in his *Itinerary* (vol. vi, p. 74, 2nd ed. 1774), says that Robert Fitz-Hamond, in the time of Rufus, was much connected with Tewkesbury Abbey; that, of his four daughters, Hawisia was made Abbess of Wilton, and Cecilia, Abbess of Shaftesbury. In Dugdale's list, Cecilia is duly entered as having been made Abbess of Shaftesbury by Henry I, in 1107, and her name occurs again in 1135; but a curious mistake has been made as regards Hawisia. Leland was no doubt right in saying that she was made Abbess of Wilton; but Dugdale, both in his first and subsequent editions of the *Monasticon*, in the account of Tewkesbury Abbey, states that the two daughters of Fitz-Hamon were made Abbesses of Shaftesbury, and WINTON, instead of WILTON. From this confusion of the two places, Hawisia has hitherto been included amongst the Abbesses of St. Mary's, Winchester, and is so appropriated by all subsequent authorities as "Hawysia, about 1120." Fitz-Hamon, a friend and follower of Rufus, was lord of the honour of Gloucester, and conqueror of the land of Glamorgan; he re-founded the Abbey of Tewkesbury, and died there in 1107. His eldest daughter, Mabel, was regarded as his sole heiress; owing to her enormous

[1] This is an addition to the list of Churches anciently existing in Wilton. See pp. 7-8.

possessions, the husband selected for her was Robert, eldest natural son of Henry I.

During the war between Stephen and the Empress Matilda, Earl Robert of Gloucester attacked Stephen at Wilton, on July 1st, 1143, and drove him out. At this time Hawise, sister-in-law of Robert, was probably Abbess of Wilton. The date of her appointment is not known. Her age can be inferred from the fact that her elder sister, Mabel, was born about 1100, and was married to Robert about 1116 or 1117, certainly before 1119.[1] Hawise, the Abbess of Wilton, was the third daughter of Fitz-Hamon, who, as before mentioned, died in 1107. The statement that Cecilia was made Abbess of Shaftesbury by Henry I, in 1107, can hardly be correct, she must have been an infant at that time. As Hutchins, in his *History of Dorset*, gives the name of an Abbess Emma in 1125, and Cecilia Fitz-Hamon in 1135, there can be little doubt that the first date of 1107 is an error.

Alice occurs in a Pembroke charter, 3 Richard I [1191-1192], between Alice, Abbess of Wilton, and the Bishop of Winchester, relating to a grant to Robert, son of Siward, of land at Chilhampton. This abbess is No. 1 of Hoare's list, who, however, gives the approximate date of "the beginning of the reign of Henry II".

Maria, Abbess of Wilton, is found in a Pembroke charter, in connection with the name of Roger de Vernon, relating to lands at Chilmark in the 5th, and again in the 6th of Richard I [1194-1195]. Her name also occurs in 8th Richard I [1197]. This abbess Maria is No. 2 of Hoare's list, with the date 1189.

[1] The *Land of Morgan*, its chief Lords, by G. T. Clark, Esq. *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. xxxv, p. 4. In this and the preceding volume will be found many particulars of the life of Fitz-Hamon.

Ascelina, Abbess of Wilton, is found in a Pembroke charter of a grant to one Thomas, in Ugford, early in the thirteenth century, probably in the time of King John, as Hoare mentions her name, No. 3, with the date 1209.

Margaret. The name of this abbess occurs only once. *See* Hoare's list, No. 4, with the date of 2 Henry III [1217].

Matilda de la Mar. A charter of this abbess, from the Pembroke muniments, will be found summarized further on. It carries the seal of the abbess, as well as the conventual seal of the monastery (Nos. 2 and 5 of the plate). A somewhat similar document is printed by Dugdale, and repeated in Hoare. This abbess is No. 5 in Hoare's list; he says she died not long before Henry III; that king deceased in 1272. The period of the seal would indicate a date of about 1275. Browne Willis gives the name of Matilda de la Mar, as abbess, with the date 1372. This error arose from the fact of there being two abbesses Matilda. His reference, with that date, should have been to Matilda de Bokeland, about a century later.

Juliana Gifford. The name of this abbess occurs several times in the Pembroke charters during the reign of Edward I. The temporalities of the monastery were restored to her, 4 Edward I [1276]. She is No. 6 of Hoare's list, who says that her death took place about 1295. During the period of Juliana Gifford's presidency, she was several times summoned by the King to supply her contingent for military service. In 1277, as we learn from Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs* (p. 196), the Abbess of Wilton was summoned to send her service against Llewelyn, Prince of Wales; muster at Worcester, in the octave of St. John the Baptist, 5 Edward I [1277]. Her name is afterwards entered upon the roll of the Constable and Earl Marshal, but no acknowledgment or performance

of service recorded. In 1282 the abbess was again summoned to send her service against the Welsh; muster at Rhuddlan, on the morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula, 2 August, 10 Edward I. In pursuance of this summons, acknowledgment is made of the service of one knight's fee, performed on her behalf by one knight. In this case we get the name of the knight who served. "In 1282 Jacobus de Trwe, or Trowe, knight, performed military service due from the Abbess of Wilton." Muster at Rhuddlan as above (Palgrave, *Alph. Digest.*, p. 871). It was under the presidency of this abbess that the scandalous affair occurred of the abduction of two nuns of the monastery by a knight, Osbern Gifford. For this offence he suffered a severe penance (see p. 6), a part of which was publicly performed in the churches and market places of Wilton and Shaftesbury. In Palgrave's *Parl. Writs*, p. 336, we find the name of Osbertus Gifford returned as holding lands in Dorset and Somerset, 28 Edward I. [1299]. Supposing this to be the culprit, and that his Dorset property was near to Shaftesbury, this would account for a part of his public penance being carried out at the latter place.

Lady Emma Blounde, or Blount. The name of this abbess is not found in any previous list; her name occurs in a Pembroke charter as having died 2 Edward II [1308-9]—may be earlier. This, no doubt, is the abbess of whom Hoare gives some particulars, but had not met with her actual name. It forms No. 7 of his list; he says her election is dated Forfar, 24 Edward I [1295]. In 1303 the abbess was summoned to send her service against the Scots; muster at Berwick-upon-Tweed, at Whitsuntide, 31 Edward I.

Alice de Parham. The name of this abbess has not previously been met with in any list. It occurs in a

Pembroke charter of the time of Edward II or III. A grant to John de Parham[1] of Alvedistone, of a virgate of land. Witnessed by Matthew Wake,[2] Stephen of Bayeux, and others. This abbess is afterwards mentioned as having preceded Constance.

Constance de Percy. This abbess's name is found in a Pembroke charter of 18 Edward II. [1324-5], and again, 6 Edward III. [1332]. She is named, No. 8, in Hoare's list, as having succeeded her predecessor in 1321, but her name is met with in a document belonging to the Corporation of Wilton, 11 Edward II [1317].[3]

Lucy. This abbess Lucy has not appeared before. Her name occurs in a Pembroke charter 35 Edward III. [1361]. This must have been about the time of her death, as Hoare says that her successor, Sibilla Aucher, was elected in this year.

Sibilla Aucher. A document of this abbess, from the Pembroke charters, dated from Wilton in 1371, with the principal portion of her beautiful seal attached (plate No. 4) will be found further on. Her name is also met with, in conjunction with her co-nun, Elizabeth Strode, in the previous year. This abbess is No. 9 in Hoare's list; she was elected in 1361. The family of Aucher was established at Fisherton, hence the name of Fisherton Aucher,

[1] In the 25th Edw. I. [1297] we find the name of John de Parham returned from the Counties of Dorset and Somerset as holding lands or rents to the amount of £20 yearly, either in capite or otherwise, and as such summoned to perform military service in person, with horses and arms, &c., in parts beyond the seas. In the *Nomina Villarum* (1335), John de Parham, with others, held lands at Alvediston.

[2] The family of Wake were lords of the manor of Ebbesbourne from the time of King John until the middle of the eighteenth century.

[3] She was most probably a member of the family of Percy, who at this date held the manor of Great Chalfield.

or Anger. A Margaret Auchier was elected Abbess of Shaftesbury in 1314, her name occurs again in 1318 and 1327. Johanna Aucher was consecrated nun at Amesbury on Ascension Day, 1327 (see Jackson, *Wilts Magazine*, vol. xviii, p. 287).

Matilda de Bokeland. This abbess occurs in a Pembroke charter of 50 Edward III. [1376]. It is also found in a manuscript preserved in the British Museum (Cart. Harl., 45a, 37) of 49 Edward III. [1375]. The purport of this latter document, together with a description of her seal (plate No. 6), will be given subsequently. The name of this abbess is not found in Hoare's list, although he afterwards prints her name in some extracts from the public records. Browne Willis, in his scanty list of the Wilton Abbesses, quotes "Matilda de la Mar 1372." This error, as before mentioned, no doubt arose from there being two abbesses Matilda. The Matilda of 1372 was a Bokeland, and not a de la Mar. The discipline of the monastery had at this time considerably deteriorated, as appears by a long episcopal ordinance of Bishop Wyville, in 1379, for its future regulation. One rule was that no nun was to possess a *seal*, and any one who kept a seal was to be punished as a *proprietary*.

After the year 1400, the list of Abbesses, as given by Hoare, is pretty complete. The vacancies to be supplied occur between Radegunda, A.D. 871, and Ælfgyth, 955. Also the names of the two abbesses who governed between Wulftrude and Bryghtwyde. After the Conquest there is a period to be bridged over between the Saxon Ælfyne, and the Norman Hawise. It is quite possible that some other names might have to be added to the following list, but probably to no great extent beyond those above mentioned. The dates attached to each name represent some period in their incumbency when they held the office, and

in some cases, where distinguished by *a cross*, the time of their death.

Radegunda	A.D. 871
Ælfgyth	955
Wulftrude	968-1000
[Two unknown names are here missing.]	
Bryghtwyde	✠ 1064
Ælfyne	... 1064-1068
Hawise Fitz-Hamon ...	? 1140-1160
Alice	1192
Maria	1194-1199
Ascelina	1209
Margaret	1217
Matilda de la Mar	✠ 1272
Juliana Gifford	1276-1295
Lady Emma Blount	✠ 1308
Alice de Parham	1308-1318
Constance de Percy	1318-1332
Lucy	✠ 1361
Sibilla Aucher	1361-1371
Matilda de Bokeland	1376
Johanna	1400-1407
Christiana Doulre	1416-1441
Christiana Codeford	1441-1448
Isabella Lambard	1448-1464
Edith Barough	1464
Alice Comelonde	✠ 1485
Cecilia Willughby	1485-1528
Isabella Jordayn	1528
Cecilia Bodenham	1534-1539

The following documents, which are given chronologically in an epitomised form, from the original Latin, are now preserved at Wilton House. The additions are, one charter from the Harleian collection in the British

Museum, to which the seal of the abbess Matilda de Bokeland is attached, and two other documents bearing different seals of the Mayors of Wilton, which form part of the archives of the Corporation. The Hospital of St. Giles, near Wilton, to which the first document relates, was established originally for the support of lepers, by Adelicia, queen of Henry II.[1] It was from an early period under the control of the Corporation of Wilton; it was preserved at the dissolution, and re-built by the Mayor and Corporation, in 1624. It remained on its original site in the adjoining parish of Fuggleston St. Peter, until about 1830, when it was pulled down, and its locality taken into Wilton Park. The hospital was again re-built some few hundred yards to the west. It still retains a prior, but without a chapel, as well as the old number of inmates supported from the original grant, which is still administered by the Corporation of Wilton. The position of the two acres of land mentioned in the charter can be pretty well ascertained. The ancient manor of Washerne was situated on the right bank of the Nadder, near the Abbey. This identical field of "two acres of arable land situated in the field called Washerne," is found again mentioned amongst the property belonging to the hospital at the time of the dissolution in the "Certificate of the state of Colleges, Hospitals, etc," preserved in the Augmentation Office, dated 37 Henry VIII [1544], and printed in Hoare's *Hundred of Branch and Dole*, p. 130. In the 24 Edward I (1295), allusion is made to "the Friars lepers of St. Giles without Wilton," and in the 5 Edward III [1330-31] occurs a confirmation of Richard Holdych as prior or custodian of SS. Giles and Anthony, near Wilton. The mutilated seal attached to this document (plate No. 10) is no doubt the original seal of the hospital. That in present use is

[1] See also p. 8.

probably of early fifteenth century date; it bears the figure of St. Giles under a gothic canopy, with the legend "S'. domus . elimosinare . S'ci . Egedi . iuxta . Wilton." It is engraved in Hoare's account of Wilton.

1. Grant by John . . . called guardian [dictus custos] of the Hospital of St. Giles without Wilton, and the Brethren and Sisters of the same, to John Goldrun,[1] burgess of Wilton, and Johanna his wife, of two acres of arable land, held by the Hospital by grant from Ralph Harvey, and Matilda his wife, lying at la Fouleflowe in the field of Wasserne [Washern], between land of the Abbess of Wilton on either side; the same to be held in perpetuity for a payment in hand of 36*s.* 8*d.*, and a yearly service of a rose at the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist. Witnesses, Hugh de Wyly, steward of the Abbess of Wilton, Thomas Linginere, bailiff of Wasserne, Robert Bede, Robert de la barne, John son of Eadmund Goldrun, Ralph Hervey, Robert Chapelein and others. XIIIth century. *Latin.*

Oval seal, bearing a full-length figure, the right hand holding a staff, the left in front of the body, holding a book. Legend: " . . . [EGI]DII AB[BATIS]" ? *Sigillum Sancti Egidii Abbatis.* Brown wax, the head, feet, and left side of the figure broken away (plate No. 10.)

Attached to the next document a considerable portion of the seal of the abbess Matilda de la Mar is preserved (plate No. 5), as well as the old conventual seal of the monastery (plate No. 2). This well known seal of the Abbey of Wilton is one of the few existing examples of Anglo-Saxon seals. It has been engraved by Sir R. C. Hoare, and fully described and figured in the *Archæologia*; it is noticed in Dugdale, and again by Sir F. Madden, in

[1] The name of John Golrund is found amongst other tenants of the Earl of Cornwall, at Wilton, concerned in a dispute relating to some foreign resident there, who had gone without license to sell and buy at the fair at Britford, 3 Edward I [1275]. Hoare's *Hundred of Cawden*, p. 52. A John Goldron, or Goldre, also occurs as one of the persons returned from Wilton to serve in the Parliament at Lincoln, 29 Edward I [1301].

the *Journal of the Archæological Institute,* vol. xiii. There is some doubt as to the exact date of this seal bearing the name of EADGYTHE. The engravings above-mentioned were made up out of two imperfect impressions then known; one of these was taken from the Harleian charter in the British Museum, already referred to in the notice of the abbess Matilda de la Mar, the other impression was taken from the instrument of surrender by the last abbess in the reign of Henry VIII. As the label of another missing seal is attached to the Harleian charter, the editors of the *New Monasticon* suppose that it might have been a second conventual seal of the monastery, but there can be little doubt that the seal wanting was that of the abbess herself. They also ascribe a wrong date—that of Edward III—to this charter. The facsimile is here given, because, though imperfect, it is in better condition than the other known examples. Another impression is attached to the last of the Pembroke documents now printed, of Cecily Bodenham, in 1536, where the seal shows evidence of much use. The matrix no longer exists.

A valuable addition to the very few known examples of Anglo-Saxon seals has lately been made by the discovery of a very fine one at Wallingford, formerly in the possession of the late Sir A. W. Franks. It is circular in form, and has a subject and legends on both sides with a richly decorated sort of handle at the top, somewhat like the original termination of the Wilton seal. The material is some kind of bone or ivory.

2. Grant by Matilda [*de la Mar*], Abbess of Wilton, and the Convent of the same, to Richard de Muchelne and Beatrice his wife, of a piece of land, at one time belonging to Richard Gosny, in Ugeford [Ugford] St. James, situate over against the chapel of the said saint; the same to be held, together with common of pasture for two cattle, in perpetuity, at a yearly rent to the convent of ten

shillings sterling. Witnesses, Sir John de Langport, then our steward, Geoffrey de Trowe,[1] William de Bissopestre, Henry Tut, David de Draytone, John Turgys, Nicholas Curthayn, Robert Ysembre, Peter de Butelyr, and many others. *Temp.* Edward I. *Latin.*

Two seals attached. The first, an oval seal, bearing a full-length figure of an abbess, the right hand holding a pastoral staff, the left in front of the body, holding a book. On each side of the figure is a small vesical compartment, that on the right containing a head, probably of St. Edith, that on the left being almost entirely broken away. Legend ". . . ISSE . . ." Green wax, the edges and one side broken away (plate No. 5). The second, a round seal, bearing a three-quarter length figure of St. Eadgitha or Edith, habited as an abbess, face in profile to the right; the right hand raised in benediction, the left holding a book. Legend "[✠] SIGIL' . EADGYÐE . REGA[L'. ADELPÆ]" *Sigillum Eadgyðe, regalis adelphe.* Green wax, edges injured (plate No. 2).

3. Grant by Richard de Waldene to William de Tydolueshyde [Tilshead] and John, his son and heir, of all lands, tenements, etc., which he had by grant from Richard Beaufo, in the town of Chylmark [Chilmark], together with all his pasture in the same town: the same to be held in perpetuity from the chief lords of the fee by the grantees

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[1] Geoffrey de Trowe was of the very ancient family of that name settled in the Chalk valley long before the Conquest. Trow, under the name of Trogan, occurs in the description of the boundaries of the lands granted by King Edwy to the Abbess of Wilton. According to the *Testa de Nevill*, this Geoffrey de Trowe, and Alexander de Trowe, then held TROW of the Abbess of Wilton by serjeanty. This ancient manor and estate, still known by the name of Trow, extends itself to the parishes of Alvediston, Fifield Bavant, and Broad Chalke. See Hoare's *Hundred of Chalk.* In 1282 Jacobus de Trowe, knight, probably another member of this family, performed military service due from the Abbess of Wilton. See Palgrave's *Alph. Digest.*, p. 871.

and the heirs of the said John in tail, with remainder, in default, to Robert, his brother, and his heirs in tail, and in default, to the said William, and his heirs or assigns. Witnesses, Thomas de Havenebare, William de Colyngborne, Robert Bigge, Joh Olyver, Geoffrey Mauduyt, John de Brudesarde, William Gerard, and others. Dated, Chylmark, Thursday, the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist [25th April], 18 Edward II. [1325]. *Latin.*

Small round seal, bearing a lion's head, full faced, with mane erect, between three indistinct charges, possibly owls. Brown wax (plate No. 8).

The following document (No. 4), which is preserved in the Wilton Corporation chest, has already been printed in its original Latin form, together with some other Wilton charters; these will be found in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. xvii, p. 311. This will shows the close connection between a layman of the middle of the fourteenth century, and the Church. In addition to the mayor's seal, the remains of another, probably belonging to the court of probate, is attached. It bears a portion of a standing figure, together with a few letters of the legend, but too indistinct to be made out.

The seal of the Mayor of Wilton, used in 1348, is probably not the first made, but it is the earliest now known. In the other Wilton document (No. 10), dated 1416, a new seal of the mayor appears, somewhat larger and not so well made. The silver matrix of the mayor's seal now in use is circular, with the same subject of the Coronation of the Virgin, probably late in the fifteenth century. This, together with the fine common seal of the borough, still used, is engraved in Hoare's *Hundred of Branch and Dole*, p. 67. In re-engraving the seal, the subject was apparently less distinctly given, for at the Herald's Visitation of Wilts, in 1623, the following was allowed to be the arms of the borough:—"Two Saxon

Kings *sejant* in gothic niches, crowned, with sceptres in their hands, &c." In the Town Hall of Wilton is an old painted and framed representation of the seal, with the subject so given in the form of two nondescript figures, crowned, and seated under gothic niches. It is somewhat curious that a misrepresentation of the personal seal of the mayor, should have been allowed as the arms of the borough in 1623, whilst the matrix of the fine common seal of the town was in existence then, as now. The vicissitudes of this unfortunate mayor's seal do not end here. In Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*, under the head of Wilton, we learn that, "In the Town Hall of Wilton is a drawing of the great seal affixed to the charter of Wilton. It is commonly supposed to be that of William and Mary; but the Rev. Mr. Coxe says, the figures are evidently those of Henry VII and his queen, Elizabeth."

4. Will of John Fromond, burgess of Wilton, bequeathing his body to be buried in the cemetery of St. Nicholas at Wilton; *Item*, to the fabric of the Church of St. Mary at Salisbury, 12*d.*; *item*, to the fabric of the Church of St. Edith at Wilton, 12*d.*; *item*, to Johanna, daughter of Richard de Ugeford, a cottage with curtilage adjacent, etc., in Wilton, situate in a plot in Kyngesbure street, acquired by the testator from Richard Beleiaumbe, burgess of Wilton, the same to be held by her, and the lawful heirs of her body, of the chief lords of the fee, for the accustomed rents and services, with the obligation to provide yearly four pounds of wax for a torch [torchea] for the great altar of St. Edith at Wilton, and, in default of such heirs, to remain to the right heirs of the testator on the same terms; *item*, that four great torches be placed about his body on the day of his burial, the one to remain at the great altar of St. Edith, the second at the altar of St. Mary in the said Church, the third at the altar of the Holy Cross, nigh the altar of St. John the Baptist, in the same Church, and the fourth for the Church of St. Michael, at Letherstocke [Laverstoke]; *item*, to Clarice, his wife, all his tenements, rents, etc., in Wilton, for her life, with remainder to the Mayor and burgesses of Wilton, for the time being, for ever; *item*, the residue to Clarice, his wife, to carry out his will for the health of his soul; and,

finally, 20*s.* to be distributed to the poor on the day of his burial; Clarice, his wife, and William Maunsel to be executors. Dated, Tuesday before the Feast of St. Vincent [22 January], 1348-9. *Latin.*

Proved at Salisbury, 24 February, 1348-9.

At a court held at Wilton, Wednesday after the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin [8 September], 23 Edward III [1349], before John de Westbury, steward of Wilton, and Robert Sirman, mayor, approved and lawfully pronounced, seisin being delivered according to the tenor of the bequests.

Attached is an oval seal ($1\frac{1}{8}$ in. by 1 in.), bearing a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, within a double gothic niche; in the centre of the canopy a shield of the arms of England [Gules], three lions passant guardant [or], below, extending to the edge of the seal, a half-length figure in adoration. Legend, "S' MAIORITATIS BVRGI DE WILTO' ". Olive green wax (plate No. 3).

A fragment of a second seal also remaining, in green wax, probably that of the probate court.

5. Quit-claim by Thomas Tydolueshide [Tilshead], to Sibil [*Aucher*], Abbess of Wilton, and the Convent of the same, of his common of pasture for sixteen cattle, two hundred sheep, and twenty-seven pigs, and of all other his common of pasture whatsoever on the soil of the said Abbess within her manor of Chilmerk. Witnesses, Sir Thomas West,[1] Laurence de St. Martin,[2] William de Bermygham, knights, Walter atte Berghe, Nicholas de Bonham, John de Harnham,[3] Richard de Vernoun,[4] William Waspail, and many others. Dated, Chilmark, Thursday after the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle [21 September], 38 Edward III [1364]. *Latin.*

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[1] Sir Thomas West held lands at Wyck, near Tisbury; also at Fonthill and Swallowcliff. A short account of the family of West will be found in Hoare's *Hundred of Dunworth*, p. 68.

[2] This Lawrence de St. Martin was son of Sir Lawrence Martin, who possessed Steeple Langford, and held property at Knighton. He died in 1386. See Hoare's *Hundred of Chalk*, p. 142.

[3] John de Harnham held lands at Britford. See Hoare's *Hundred of Cawdon*, p. 48.

[4] Richard de Vernon, of Horningsham, was living in 1333. Hoare's *Hundred of Heytesbury*, p. 48.

Small round seal, bearing a shield of arms, three wolves heads erased. Legend, "SIGILLV' WILL'I TIDOLSIDE." *Sigillum Willelmi Tidolside.* Red wax, sunk in green (plate No. 9.)

In the legend of the seal attached to the next document (No. 6) there is some indistinctness in one of the letters of the name; it should probably be read Upton. There is Upton Lucy in the Chalk valley, also Upton Lovel, near Heytesbury; both these Uptons at an early period became the property of the Abbess of Wilton. John de Upton was owner of the estate of Upton, in Berwick St. John, in 1343. He was also concerned in some dispute relating to the deer in Cranborne Chase, in 1346. Hoare's *Hundred of Chalk*, p. 94.

6. Quit-claim by Nicholas de Bonham, to John de Belameslonde, and William Hughe, chaplain, of all the lands, tenements, etc., which they and he had lately by grant from Thomas de Tydolueshyde within the towns of Chilmarke and Neotheramptone [Netherhampton]. Witnesses, Thomas West, Laurence de St. Martin, William de Bermyghem, knights, Henry Stourmy,[1] Walter atte Berghe,[2] Richard de Vernon, William Waspail,[3] John Lyngmere, and many others. Dated, Chilmark, Sunday before the Feast of St. Martin [11 November]. 39 Edward III [1365]. *Latin.*

Small round seal, bearing a shield of arms, fretty on a chief a lion passant. Legend, "✠ S'. NICHOLAI . DE

[1] Henry Stourmy, of Wulfhall and Figheldean, was at this time sheriff of the county, which office he filled for five years, from 1361 to 1366. He died in 1381-2, and was probably son of Henry de Esturmey, who was possessed of the manor of Cowsfield Sturmy at his death in 1349. See Hoare's *Hundred of Frustfield*, p. 75. His seal will be found engraved in *Wilts Magazine*, vol. ii, p. 387.

[2] Walter atte Berghe was bailiff to the Bishop of Salisbury, in 1360. For a long series of years the bailiffs of the Bishops of Salisbury took precedency of the mayors of the city.

[3] William Waspail, of Smallbrook, within the parish of Warminster. Some notice of this ancient family will be found in Hoare's *Hundred of Warminster*, p. 45.

UPTON?" *Sigillum Nicholai de Upton, or Ufton* (plate No. 11).

7. Grant by John de Belameslonde and William Hughe, chaplain, to the Church of St. Edith at Wilton, and the Abbess and Convent of the same, of two messuages, a mill, four virgates of land, and eight shillings of rent in Chilmark, together with the reversion of a messuage and two virgates of land in Netherhampton, held of them for life by Thomas Tydolueside and Johanna his wife. Witnesses, Thomas West, Laurence de St. Martin, William de Bermygham, knights, Henry Stourmy, Walter atte Borghe, Nicholas de Bonham, Richard de Vernoun, William Waspail, and many others. Dated, Chilmark, Monday before the Feast of St. Clement [17 November], 39 Edward III [1365]. *Latin.*

Two seals. First, a round seal, within a quatrefoil border a heart; from which spring three branches supporting two birds, billing. Legend, "TRWE . BE . LOVE TRIK . TRWE." *True be love, trik*[1] *true.* Red wax (plate No. 7).

Second seal, oval, bearing a full-length figure of St. Mary Magdalene in the Wilderness. Legend, "MARIA MAGDALENA." Red wax (plate No. 1).

8. Letters of attorney from Sibil [*Aucher*], Abbess of Wilton, and the Convent of the same, to Nicholas de Bonham, their steward, to receive seisin of the manor of Foffunte [Fovant] co. Wilts, lately belonging to Hugh Strode, and granted to the abbey by John Gyldene, and William Hughe, chaplain. Dated, Wilton, 6 March, 45 Edward III [1371]. *Latin.*

Oval seal, bearing, within a richly-ornamented gothic niche, a full-length figure of an abbess, the right hand holding a pastoral staff, the left holding a book; below a shield of arms—Ermine, on a chief azure, three lions rampant or (family of *Aucher*). The edge and both sides broken away. Green wax, (plate No. 4).

[1] *Trig*=tight, true, faithful (Northern). *Trig*=sound and firm Dorset). Halliwell's *Archaic Dictionary.*

British Museum, Harley Charter, 45 A. 37.

9. Statement by Margerie, widow of Walter Dun, that Sir Renaud of Remmesbury [Ramsbury, co. Wilts] purchased lands in Portone, [Porton, co. Wilts] and gave them to John Folyot, and Jhone [Joan] his wife, cousin of Sir Renaud, and the heirs of their bodies, with reversion in default;—that John Folyot had three daughters, of whom one was a "munechon" [nun], the second, Margerie, married Roger Payne's father, and bore Roger and Nichol, and the third, Emmote, married Henry Dun, and bore Walter and John; that afterwards Roger Payne married Marione, Walter Dun's bastard sister, and by her had Robert, born in "spoushod", and Lettuce and Alice, bastards, of whom Lettuce was married to John Janequin, and had Ansteise and Mold; that Roger [Payne] and Robert [his son], the rightful heirs, died without heirs, and the land therefore came to Walter Dun;—that Walter Dun married Margerie, who survives, and by her had Robert, in the case of whose death without heirs the lands revert to Sir Renaud of Remmesbury.

Deposed in presence of Matilda [*de Bokeland*], Abbess of Wilton, Henry Haversham, Mayor, John Cole, Nicholas Vyniter, Thomas Wysdom, and Henry Bount, of Wilton; and attested by the seals of the Prioress, and of the Borough of Wilton, at the request of John Rammesbury, Thursday before the Feast of St. Hilary [13 January], 49 Edward III [1375].

Attached is a pointed-oval seal, bearing a full-length figure of the abbess, with a crozier in the right hand, and a book in the left, standing within a finely-carved gothic niche; below, a shield of arms—[Gules], three lions rampant [argent], on a canton [sable] a fret [or]. The legend and remainder of the seal, destroyed. Dark green wax (plate, No. 6).

The seal of the borough is entirely destroyed.

10. Testament of the Mayor, Burgesses, etc., of Wilton, that John Mundy, of Wilton, is a burgess and member of the Merchants' Guild, and, by virtue of royal charters to the borough, quit of all toll, passage, panage, pontage, murage, brithot, chidwyte, yaregive, kenerage, and scotale. Dated, Wilton, Thursday after the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist [25 April], 4 Henry V [1416]. *Latin.*

Attached is an oval seal ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{16}$ in.), the design an inferior copy of the seal (plate, No. 3), apparently with-

out the half-length figure in adoration. Legend, "S' MAIORITATIS BVRGI DE WILTON". A bad impression in red wax.

A second seal has entirely perished.

11. Grant by Cecilia Bodenham, Abbess of the Monastery of Wilton, and the Convent of the same, patrons of the prebend or rectory of Staunton, in the diocese of Salisbury, to Thomas Legh LL.D., of the right of presentation to the said prebend or parish church, when it shall next become vacant. Dated, Wilton, 7 May, 28 Henry VIII. [1536]. *Latin.*

Seal of Wilton Abbey, as in plate, No. 2.

Cecily Bodenham was a nun in the Priory of Kington St. Michael, in 1511. She was of a family settled at Bodenham, in the Hundred of Downton. In the stained chancel window, given by herself to Kington Church, Aubrey says there was remaining in his time, the greater part of her picture in cope and robes. See *Wilts Collections*, Aubrey and Jackson, p. 135.

There was also connected with the Abbey of Wilton the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene.[1] In the *Chronicon Vilodunense*, written about 1420, it is mentioned as existing at that time, being endowed for the maintenance of twelve poor beadsmen to pray for the soul of St. Edith (*stanza* 529). It is probable, however, that no separate foundation or grants for the establishment were ever made, as we find the following entry of sums paid, amongst others, to persons connected with the monastery at the time of the dissolution, and receiving benefit from it:—"Thirteen poor Magdalens chosen yearly to pray for the souls of the Founders, and maintained on the alms of the monastery, £19 10 0". This Magdalen Hospital is really still in being—at least in name. Until about fifty years ago a range of five almshouses existed near the

[1] See also page 8.

entrance to the abbey, at a place called Armoury or Almonry corner. They were known as the Morlands or Maudlins. In 1831 the establishment was removed some distance to the north, at the junction of the Wilton and Warminster roads. The present well-built almshouses are occupied by the same number of inmates, being old servants or retainers of the Pembroke family. A brass plate, with the following inscription, is placed over the entrance:—"This Hospital of Saint Mary Magdalen of Wilton, was re-built on its present site in fulfilment of the intentions of George Augustus, eleventh earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, by Catherine, his widow and sole executrix. A.D. 1831".

Another early religious foundation at Wilton was that of the Hospital of St. John, closely adjoining, but not within the parish of Wilton.[1] It occurs in the records as being dedicated as early as A.D. 1217. It is said to have been founded by one Hubert, one of whose name [Hubert Walter] was Bishop of Sarum 1188-1193. It seems to have been connected in some way with the Knights Hospitallers.[2] In the 18 Edward II [1324-5] John de Norrugge was Prior of St. John's. At some time during the reign of Edward III the Prior was Roger Hudde, he is mentioned as "Magister [et fratribus] hospitalis Sancti Johannis extra portam de Wylton". Again, in the 19 Richard II [1395-6] Geoffry was the "humble" prior of the house of St. John, Wilton.[3] Being considered in the light of a charitable institution at the time of the

[1] See also page 9.

[2] At Ansty, in South Wilts, there was a small society, or commandery, belonging to this order.

[3] In 1751, Richard Eyre, clerk, was Prior, and with the inmates of the Hospital, leased property at Swallowcliff, to John Fitz, of Chilmark.

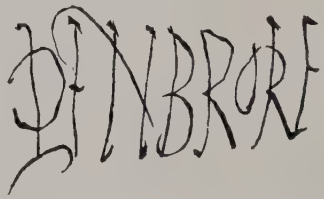
Reformation, it was not dissolved. Considerable remains, including the chapel, are still extant. Here the religious offices continue to be said by the prior for the benefit of the inmates, who occupy the hospital residences adjoining, re-built by the liberality of the late prior. The original seal of the Priory of St. John's no longer exists. The present seal in use is no doubt a copy of an earlier one; it is circular in form, and apparently of the last century. It bears the *Agnus Dei*, with the Legend "SIGILLVM : HOSPITALIS : SANCTI : IOHANNIS : IVXTA : WILTON".

Of all the religious foundations once existing at Wilton, one only has left no trace behind it. The Black Friar preachers were established in Wilton in or before 1245. They erected a church and convent, but removed their establishment to Fisherton, about 1280, to which Henry Fitz-Aucher granted lands in 1293.

From a rare Medal in the British Museum (date 1562); by Stephens, of Holland.

(See p. 93.)

Facsimile of the Autograph of Sir William Herbert (A.D. 1549).



Facsimile of the same, as Earl of Pembroke. (A.D. 1561.)

Some Notice of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke of the present creation.[1]

The career of this remarkable man has had but scant justice done to it. He played no inconsiderable part in the eventful reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. His connection with the county of Wilts began with the grants to him of the abbey lands of Wilton, by Henry VIII. Sir R. C. Hoare's account of him, taken mainly from Collins' *Peerage*, is very short. Aubrey's biography, on some points, is scarcely to be relied upon; most of his information about the first earl must have come down to him by tradition. All I have attempted to do is to bring together such scattered notices of him as I have been able to find, with the addition only of such matter as is necessary to connect them together; for in truth a complete history of his life would be, in a great measure, the history of the period in which he lived.

The publication of the Calendars of State Papers by the Record Commissioners has opened up a rich mine of new information in the smaller matters of history. In the foreign series many personal details are supplied by the untiring energy of the agents of foreign Courts, especially of the republic of Venice, who kept their masters well informed of the minutest details of passing events; these now form some of the most valuable and authentic materials for the history of Europe in the sixteenth century. To what effective purpose these materials have been put, reference need only be made to Mr. Froude's work on this period of English history.

The origin of the Herberts is somewhat cloudy. It is in South Wales where we must look for the early history

[1] From the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xviii.

of the family. In the Priory Church at Abergavenny, is a remarkable series of monumental effigies, ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries; amongst the most interesting are those of different members of the Herbert family, ancestors of the subject of our present notice. Mr. Octavius Morgan has published an elaborate memoir of these monuments, and has also given a full account of the pedigree of the Herbert family, the result, indeed, of a long series of careful and persevering researches which have been undertaken by the most reliable of the Welsh genealogists.[1] It appears, then, that they are descended from Sir William ap Thomas, of Raglan, who was knighted by Henry VI, in 1426. His tomb is in Abergavenny Church, he was a native of that part of the country, and must have been the author of his own fortunes, as he was the fifth son of Thomas ap Gwilym ap Jenkin; and here his upward pedigree must stop as far as any authentic documentary proof is known to exist, although the heralds carry it back to Henry I. Sir William ap Thomas was a notable man in South Welsh story, and the father of sons, by Gwladys, daughter of Sir David Gam, of whom two were also remarkable: (1) Sir William; (2) Sir Richard Herbert, of Coldbrook. The fortunes of these brothers are matters of history; they were among the boldest and most powerful supporters of the White Rose, and shared in the varying fortunes of that party. William gained the earldom of Pembroke, with large Welsh estates, and on the occasion of his receiving the Garter from Edward IV, he, and Sir Richard (of whom more hereafter), had the royal command to renounce the Welsh custom of varying surnames, and to bear that of

[1] *Some account of the ancient monuments in the Priory Church at Abergavenny*, by Octavius Morgan, Esq. Printed for the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association.

Herbert, for it appears that the surname of Herbert grew up in the families of the Earls of Pembroke and Powis, and their immediate kinsmen, as the English name of the race, or clan, *concurrently* with the continuance of their old Welsh patronymics. They were called Gwilim ap Jenkin, *otherwise* Herbert, and so on.

This William, Earl of Pembroke, of the first creation in the Herbert family, known as "Gwilim Ddu" or "Black Will", was beheaded at Banbury, by Warwick and Clarence, in 1469: he left three sons by his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Devereux, but in these we are not concerned:[1] he had also by his mistress, Maud, daughter and heiress of Adam ap Howell Graunt, two other sons; it is the eldest of them, Sir Richard Herbert, of Ewyas, who, though illegitimate, is ancestor of the men who have really, in modern times, rendered the name of Herbert illustrious. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Matthew Cradock, of Swansea. His eldest son, William Herbert—the subject of the present memoir—was made Earl of Pembroke (second creation), and is ancestor of existing Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, and of Carnarvon, of the Duke of Powis, of Pool Castle (extinct 1747), and, in the female line, of the Marquis of Bute, who thence derives his Glamorganshire estates.

This Sir Richard, of Ewyas, has a very fine canopied tomb in Abergavenny Church. It still retains traces of rich colouring, and is ornamented with several shields, bearing the three lions of the Herberts, with the bendlet, also the three boars' heads and crosslets of the Cradocks.

[1] William, second earl (first creation), exchanged the dignity for that of Huntingdon in 1479, King Edward IV being desirous to confer the earldom of Pembroke upon his son, Prince Edward. This William left an only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, who married Charles Somerset, first earl of Worcester, but, having no male issue, his honours expired. Burke's *Extinct Baronetage.*

There is also a fine altar-tomb in alabaster, carrying the effigies of Sir Richard Herbert and his wife, of Coldbrook, already mentioned as brother to the Earl of Pembroke of the first creation. This Sir Richard, of Coldbrook, must be carefully distinguished from Sir Richard, of Ewyas, for, by some strange mistake, the effigies of this monument, are figured in Sir R. C. Hoare's account of Wilton, in his *Modern Wilts*, as those of Sir Richard Herbert, of Ewyas, and his wife, *ancestors of the Earls of Pembroke*, they being really the effigies of Sir Richard Herbert, of Coldbrook, and his wife, *who had nothing to do with the Earls of Pembroke.* In the plate they are accompanied with shields of arms of Herbert *without the bendlet*, which is most conspicuous in the real tomb of Sir Richard, of Ewyas, and also the arms of Cradock, thus *mixing up the two monuments* by giving *the figures of one*, with *the arms of the other.* Upon this, Mr. Morgan says:—

"It is remarkable that so able a man as Sir R. C. Hoare, who had visited Monmouthshire, in company with Archdeacon Coxe, and made many of the drawings for his tour of the county, should have made so great a mistake, and fallen into such an error, for on the Ewyas monument that word is most distinct; that being, in fact, the only monument of the series which has any inscription."

William Herbert was born in 1506: of his early history little is known. Aubrey says, "he was a mad fighting young fellow", and then gives an account of a strange adventure which befel him at Bristol in 1527; this is in the main correct, but the details are more fully given by the Bristol historians. On Midsummer night in that year there was a great fray made by the Welshmen on the King's watch, and on the following St. James's day, the mayor and his brethren returning from a wrestling match, a dispute arose in which one Richard Vaughan, a mercer, was killed on the bridge by William Herbert, the cause

being, "a want of some respect in compliment". He escaped through the great gate towards the marsh, where, a boat being prepared, and the tide ebbing, he got into Wales, and afterwards went to France; where, according to Aubrey, he betook himself into the army, and showed so much courage and readiness of wit in conduct, that he was favoured by the King, who afterwards recommended him to Henry VIII.

His marriage with Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, must have had an important influence on his career. Sir Thomas Parr, who died in 1517, had three children—William, afterwards Marquis of Northampton, Katharine, and Ann; he left all his extensive manors to his wife for life. He willed his daughters, Katharine and Ann, to have eight hundred pounds between them, as marriage portions, except they proved to be his heirs, or his sons' heirs.[1] Four hundred pounds, Ann's moiety, would be scarcely equal to £2,000 in these days, and seems but an inadequate dowry for the daughter of parents so richly endowed as Sir Thomas and Lady Parr. Both Katharine and Ann appear to have been most carefully educated by their widowed mother.[2] Katharine afterwards became the sixth wife of Henry VIII. She was of more distinguished ancestry than either Ann Boleyn or Jane Seymour. One of her ancestors was for a time settled in the country of the Herberts. "About 1093, Fitz-Hamon, who was a friend and follower of Rufus, made a conquest of the marches of Glamorganshire. Of the six unquestionable

[1] This afterwards happened to Lady Herbert's son. The Marquis of Northampton, says Dugdale, dying without issue, Henry, Earl of Pembroke (his nephew by one of his sisters), became his next heir.

[2] In the will of Dame Maude Parr, dated 1529, printed in the Camden Society's volume, No. 83, particulars will be found of jewels, etc., bequeathed to her daughter Ann.

Norman settlers there, contemporary with Fitz-Hamon, was St. Quintin, of Llanblethian. This family, however, had left South Wales in 1249. Their heiress was the lady whose blood, mingled with that of Fitz-Hugh, and of Marmion, centred in Parr, of Kendal, and now flows in the veins of the Herberts of Wilton".[1]

In 1542, and 1544, Herbert received, by favour of Henry VIII, the large grant of the Abbey of Wilton, with its extensive estates. The first grants, dated March and April,[2] 33 Henry VIII [1541], include the site of the late monastery, the manor of Washerne adjoining, also the manors of Chalke: these are given to William Herbert, esquire, and Anne his wife, for the term of their lives, with certain reserved rents to the King. In the interval the King had married Katharine Parr, sister to Lady Herbert. On the 4th January 1544 (*Patent Roll*, 35 Henry VIII, part 17) these estates are re-granted, together with a long list of possessions belonging to the late monastery, to Sir William Herbert, Anne his wife, and their heirs male.

This famous monastery for Benedictine nuns, over which many royal ladies had ruled during Anglo-Saxon times, had dwindled down to a house of moderate dimensions before the dissolution. The appointment of the penultimate abbess was the first cause of coolness between Henry VIII, and Cardinal Wolsey. Mr. Brewer, in his *Introductions to Letters*, &c., temp. Henry VIII, under the date 1528, says,

"The good understanding between the king and his minister was rudely shaken by unexpected events, that must have reminded

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[1] The *Land of Morgan*, by G. T. Clark, Esq. *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 30-31.

[2] The grant of the manor of Washerne, dated April 8th, is printed by Sir R. C. Hoare, *Hundred of Branch and Dole*, p. 226.

Wolsey of the instability of greatness. On the death of the Abbess of Wilton, in the time of the sweating sickness, John Carey, the brother of Mary Boleyn's husband, was anxious to secure the vacant appointment for his sister Elinor, one of the nuns. Her appointment was warmly espoused by Ann and the king, as might be expected, but it was found upon examination that Elinor Carey had been guilty of gross incontinence. When this was made known to Wolsey by Dr. Bell, it was reported to the king."

The King's answer (printed in Sir R. C. Hoare's account of Wilton) is strong in condemnation of Elinor Carey, he also refuses to give it to Wolsey's candidate, Isabella Jordayne, the "ancient, wise, and discreet" prioress of the Abbey, who was sister to the Abbess of Sion. The cardinal, however, made the appointment, to the annoyance of the King. Mr. Brewer goes on to say "Justly alarmed by these indications of the King's displeasure, Wolsey had recourse to various excuses. This drew from the King a remonstrance not less honourable to himself than the cardinal."

Some information as to the state of the abbey can be gleaned from two letters, still extant, written by Dr. Benet, a priest of Salisbury,[1] to Wolsey. The first, dated April 24th, 1528, after announcing the death of the abbess, says, "The substance of the house consists in wool to the value of 600 marks, there is but little money". The proceedings of the nuns at this time seem to have troubled Benet grievously; three months later he writes to the cardinal to this effect:—

"Repaired to Wilton, and used every effort to bring over the nuns to Wolsey's wishes. Found them untoward, and put three or four of the captains of them in ward. Has closed up the doors, that none might have access to the nunnery. Found only the new elect

[1] No doubt the Dr. Thomas Benet whose tomb, with effigy as a skeleton, is still to be seen in the Cathedral. He was a canon of Salisbury, and, as proctor for the Chapter in Convocation, signed the Articles of 1536. He died in 1558.

and her sisters compliant. As they are now visited by the plague, and much straitened in their lodging by the burning of their dormitory, thought it best to advise Wolsey before taking further proceedings."

From the circumstance of the nuns being so inconvenienced by the burning of their dormitory, it would seem that the accommodation provided for the inmates was but limited.

We also find that the surroundings of the abbey had been much neglected. In the Particulars for Grants (Court of Augmentation) 33 Henry VIII [1541], a most careful valuation is made of the large amount of timber within the manor of Broad Chalke, which formed part of the possessions of the abbey, but the entry relating to the timber on the site and demesnes of the late monastery is, "The trees growing about the said site, and in hedges enclosing the said demesnes will barely suffice to maintain and repair the fences and the said hedges—therefore not valued".

It is probable that Sir William Herbert made a clean sweep of nearly all the monastic buildings; there is certainly no part of the original abbey contained in the present house. Some of the stones themselves may have been, and probably were, brought from Old Sarum, many of the squared stones have all the appearance of having been previously used in Norman buildings. It is known that Old Sarum formed a convenient stone quarry for the neighbourhood during several centuries. The only exception to this general destruction is found in the massive remains of a gothic building now standing near the stables. It is good vigorous work of the fourteenth century, and has a capital example of the "shouldered" arch; it possibly formed some part of the outbuildings of the original establishment. Within the house the only

probable remains of the abbey consist of some fragments of painted glass of the fourteenth century, now placed in an upper window of the entrance-hall, and once forming the rich canopy heads of a larger window.

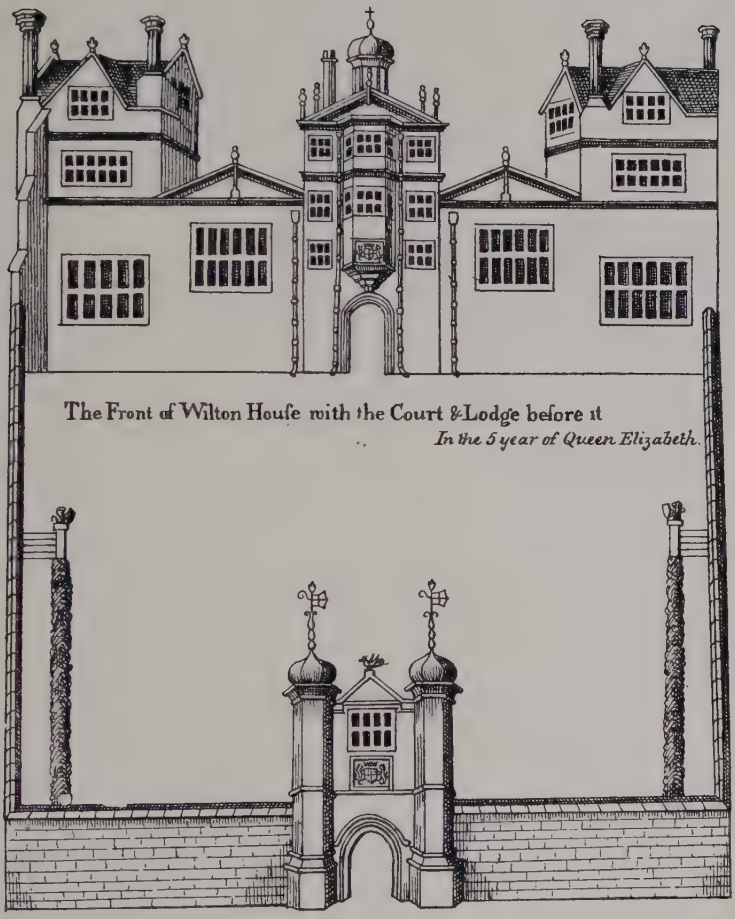
The original plan of the house was a quadrangle, pretty much on its present lines; but the east front is the only part which retains its original exterior, and this has been a good deal altered. When the south front was rebuilt in its present state by Inigo Jones, the wings of the east side were brought somewhat into harmony with it, but the central mass remained intact until the upper part was re-modelled by Wyatt early in the nineteenth century; the only additions to the old work being the two canopied niches containing thermes on either side of the porch of entrance. These were added by Henry, the second earl, probably soon after he came to the estate. They are surmounted by shields of armorial bearings; that on the dexter side carries the quarterings of the first earl, the supporters of which rest on his initials, W. P., whilst that on the other side bears the shield of Henry, the second earl, the supporters resting on his own initials, H. P. The only connection of the building with Henry VIII is found in a coat of the royal arms and supporters, with the monogram of that King, now built into the wall on the north side of the house, over the entrance porch, but this is not its original position. It is of finely-cut work, as are many others of the heraldic shields found in different parts of the building.[1]

[1] The greater part of these were probably done in the time of Henry, the second earl, as well as the many shields of arms on painted glass, in a more or less perfect state, which are now placed in the heads of the windows in the cloisters of the house. We learn from Aubrey that "his lordship was the patron to the men of arms, and to the antiquaries and heralds; he took a great delight in the study of

The earliest drawing I have met with of Wilton House in its original state, is contained in an early manuscript copy of the Pembroke Terrier, in possession of the late Mr. W. Blackmore. It is merely a pen and ink sketch, and is dated 1563, six years before the death of Lord Pembroke; a reduced copy is given on the opposite page. This, like most of the early topographical drawings and engravings, is rather an indication of the general features of the building than anything else; the architectural details are very meagre, but there is no reason to doubt that it represents generally what the principal front was at that time. The large court, with its gate-house, was the scene of a grand reception of Queen Elizabeth,[1] by the second earl, a few years later. This was standing at the time of the visit of Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1669, and the foundation walls were lately found [1878], during some excavations, on the exact lines indicated by the plan. This was the first, but by no means the finest, of the many Wiltshire examples of that interesting period of English architecture which arose after the Reformation, and must not be confounded with the renaissance of Southern Europe. The magnificent Longleat, the stately Longford, Littlecot, and Corsham, were all built within this generation; not free from foreign influence, it is true, but still having a character of their own which might have been developed into a national style but for the overpowering influence of

heraldry, as appeares by that curious collection of heraldique manuscripts in the library here. It was this earle that did set up all the painted glasse scutchions about the house. Many a brave souldier, no doubt, was here obliged by his lordship; but time has obliterated their names." (*Natural History of Wiltshire*, part ii, chap. iii.)

[1] An account of her Majesty's reception, as quoted in Nichols's *Royal Progresses*, from Sir Rice Merrick's *Antiquities of Glamorganshire*, will be found on pp. 11-12.



Sketch of Wilton House, as it appeared A.D. *1563.*

Edw. Kite, del.

the classic taste which ultimately swamped all original efforts.

The curious architectural erection now standing in the garden, called Holbein's Porch, is of the period of the original work, and stood formerly within the quadrangle. Holbein is said to have been employed to design all these early buildings, but probably without sufficient reason. Holbein is now known to have died in 1543. Sir William Herbert only had the grant of the abbey in 1542. Besides this, there is nothing in the work which makes it probable. As well as being a great painter, Holbein, like many other artists of the renaissance period, designed goldsmith's work, and decorations of a refined character, but these things had little in common with the architectural buildings which are sometimes ascribed to him.

Besides his residence at Wilton, Sir William Herbert had afterwards the grant of Baynard's Castle, a magnificent mansion standing on the banks of the Thames, near the spot known as Paul's wharf, in the city. It is described in the grant as being parcel of the possessions of the Lady Katharine, late Queen of England, "like as the same hath always been reserved to the Queenes of this realm for their lodging, when it hath pleased them to repair to the same, with the gardens, courts, grounds, edifications, buildings, and other appurtenances." Stowe, in his *Survey of London*, says "Henry VII repaired or rather new builded this house, not imbattled, or so strongly fortified castle-like: but farre more beautifull and commodious for the entertainment of any Prince or great estate. In the 20th Henry VII [1504], the said King, with his Knights of the Order, all in the habit of the Garter, rode from the Tower of London through the city unto the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, and there heard evensong, and from thence they rode to Baynard's Castle,

where the King lodged. The same yeere the King of Castile was lodged there."

January 24th, 1543-4, Herbert had a grant of the office of captain of the castle and town of Aberystwith, also the custody of Carmarthen Castle for life. In this year, too, he received the honour of knighthood.

Henry VIII died in January, 1547, his son, Edward VI, being then only nine years old. Sir William Herbert was one of the executors of the will of the late King, together with some other principal personages of the court. This carefully-prepared document was to some extent set aside by the appointment of Hertford [Edward Seymour, of Wulfhall], uncle of the boy king, as Protector. This was hastily done at a meeting of the Council, when Herbert was present. The funeral of the King took place at Windsor, it was conducted with the utmost magnificence. Sir William Herbert, and Sir Anthony Denny were the only two that were carried in the funeral chariot with the royal corpse. Some curious particulars are given in a letter taken from the Venetian State Papers, by one Ludovico Montio, who had been in the service of Henry VIII. It is known that the body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, but what made most impression on Montio was the wax-work figure of the King, wrought to the life, and most sumptuously apparelled in robes, being covered with precious stones; the obsequies lasted twenty days, there being one hearse at Westminster, another at Sion, and a third, the grandest of all, at Windsor.

Sir William Herbert was left £300 in the will. It appears that the King, shortly before his death, was prepared to make considerable grants of lands and titles to the members of the Council. Secretary Paget was directed to prepare a list of recipients for these gifts, but modestly

left out his own name. The new schedule was read over to the King in the presence of Sir William Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny. "Mr. Secretary has remembered all men save one", said Herbert. "You mean himself", replied the King. "I remember him, and he shall be helped." Upon the strength of the late King's intention, the new Government made the Protector, Duke of Somerset; his brother received the title of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, with suitable grants; Lord Parr, the brother of Lady Herbert, was made Marquis of Northampton, besides other preferments.

The first grant of estates to Sir William Herbert by the Government of Edward VI, is dated July 10th, 1547, six months after the death of Henry VIII. "The consyderacion of the gifte" being "ffor the fulfillinge of a Determinacion made by Kinge H. the viijth by his last Will".[1] This grant included the manors of North Newton and Hulcott, which remained in possession of the Pembrokes down to 1680, when they were sold by Philip, the seventh earl. From an entry in the MS. Terrier, I am enabled to add the names of the purchasers, and the sums paid for their several portions.[2]

[1] *State Papers, Domestic,* Edw. VI, vol. xix.

[2] The manor of Newton and Hulcott, sold to the several persons hereinafter named, by Lord Philip, is:—

NORTH NEWTON AND HULCOTT.

To Mr. Christopher Gardiner pt. for	930
To Edward Alexander pt. for	225
To Richd. Chandler pt. for	225
To Mr. John Priaulx pt. for	300
To Mr. Thos. Blake pt. for	470
To Mr. Oliver Shergold pt. for	555
To Mr. John Davis pt. for	676
To Mr. Charles Newberry pt. for	490
To Mr. James Pawlett pt. for	260
To Mr. Richd. Brownjohn pt. for	130
	£4,261

Soon after the funeral of the King, Sir William and Lady Herbert were in London, probably at Baynard's Castle. It was at this time that Lord Seymour of Sudeley married the widowed queen. He was handsome, courtly, and courageous, and, like most of his contemporaries, unscrupulous. He shared largely, as did other members of his family, in the plunder of the Church. His ambition led him to aspire successively to the hands of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and failing in this, he made advances to the widowed Queen Katharine, by whom he was more than readily accepted, the queen avowing, "my mynd was fully bent the other tyme I was at libertye [that is, in her previous widowhood] to marry you before any man I know".

The queen (together with the princess Elizabeth) was then living at her manor of Chelsea, where Seymour was in the habit of privately visiting her. Their confidante was the queen's sister, Lady Herbert; this is evident from the following extracts from a letter written by Seymour to Katharine, describing the way he was cross-questioned by his new sister-in-law, and his anxiety, till he found Lady Herbert was in the secret. The letter is printed by Tytler, and is dated May 17th, 1547.

From Lord Admiral Seymour to Katharine Parr.

"After my humble commendation unto to your highness, yesternight I supt at my brother Herberd's of whom, for your sake besides mine own, I received good cheer; and after the same, I received from your highness, by my sister Herberd, your commendations, which were more welcome than they were sent. And after the same, she waded further with me, touching my being with your highness at Chelsea, which I denied, being with your highness; but that indeed, I went by the garden as I went to see the Bishop of London's house, and at this point stood with her for a time, till at the last she told me further tokens which made me change colours, who, like a false wench, took me with the manner. Then remembering what she was, and knowing how well you trusted her, examined her whether those

things came from your highness, and by that knew it to be true; for the which I render unto your highness my most humble and hearty thanks; for by her company, in default of yours, I shall shorten the weeks in these parts, which heretofore, were three days longer in every one of them then they were under plummet at Chelsea".

Four months had not yet elapsed since the death of the king. The exact date of their union being unknown, Miss Strickland, in her *Lives of the Queens of England*, considers this letter to be the earliest evidence of their still secret marriage, owing to Seymour calling Sir William and Lady Herbert (not *Lord* Herbert, as Miss Strickland styles him) "brother", and "sister". Seymour and the queen lived in great magnificence, Katharine in the misguided notion that he loved her for herself; but the period of their felicity was very short, she gave birth to a daughter and died at the time. Seymour closed his turbulent career soon after at the block.

Sir William Herbert was actively employed during the eventful year of 1549. In the spring, the dispute between the peasantry and the Commissioners for enclosing common lands had come to a crisis; the Protector Somerset, whose power was now on the wane, came into open collision with the Council on this point, and countenanced the rioters. The more energetic among the lords resolved, in consequence, to act for themselves; Sir William Herbert, whose own parks had been invaded, attacked the rioters in person, and cut some of them to pieces.

At this crisis came the news of the insurrection in the western counties, where the rebels demanded a return to Catholicism. Active measures were now taken; as the treasury was empty, the lords sold their plate and jewels to raise money; before the rebellion was over nearly £100,000 had been subscribed by the nobility, to which

Sir William Herbert was a large contributor. His personal influence was still among the Welsh, he immediately raised a force of a thousand mountaineers, and marched across the Somersetshire flats to Exeter. This place had been taken, however, by Lord Russell on August 6th. Herbert arrived immediately afterwards, "too late for the work, but soon enough for the play, for the whole country was put to the spoil, and every soldier fought for his best profit. The services of the mountain cattle lifters were made valuable to Exeter; for the city being destitute of victuals, was by their special industry, provided in two days."[1]

Sir William Herbert and Lord Russell were with the forces in the western counties during the two following months, so that they took no active part in the events which led to the fall of the Protector Somerset. Upon the danger becoming imminent, Somerset sent his youthful son, Lord Edward Seymour, to Russell and Herbert, with instructions to push forward immediately, as the King's person was in danger. This missive met them at Wilton; they immediately started, and upon reaching Andover found letters from Warwick and the Council, by which it appeared that the real danger to be feared was not from a conspiracy of the lords, but from a fresh insurrection of the commons, on the invitation of Somerset. Being still at the head of a portion of the army, the Protector had relied upon their aid, so that the defection of Russell and Herbert must have been a knell to the duke. From Andover they sent an answer back to the duke, by the hands of his son, Lord Edward; it enters fully into the political state of the times, and gives sufficient reason for their course of action. This admir-

[1] Froude's *History of England*, chap. xxvi.

able letter has been printed by Tytler, who says, "Its right feeling and good sense, with the pure and vigorous style of its composition, render it a remarkable document." It is dated October 8th, 1549, and signed J. Russell, and W. Herbert. Warwick and the Council were also looking anxiously for a reply. They had not long to wait; Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert must have returned to Wilton without a moment's delay, for on the next day an explanatory letter was sent; this document is preserved in the State Paper Office. The following are some extracts from it:—

"Incontinently upon our arrival here at Wilton, we received divers letters from the King's Majesty and the Protector, to come forth to the Court with all diligence; and especially one that he sent by his son, the Lord Edward. Upon the receipt whereof, we prepared ourselves to come up; and with such gentlemen as were then in our company, and with our servants, came as far as Andover, where we understood many things, for the countreys every way *were in a roar* that no man wist what to do. Thus being at Andover, and weighing as well the state of the things above, as also the tickleness [tottering, uncertain state] of the country, which hitherto understandeth not what the matter may mean, we despatched the Lord Edward to the Protector, with such answer as by the copy thereof, which we also send herewith, it may appear; and thereupon thought it very requisite to return to Wilton, there to abide the assembly of the gentlemen of all these parts, and to gather such power as may serve us to come thro' withal to do good, if need should so require; and have sent to Bristol for some light ordnance, and for money, with such other things as may be necessary . . . . And as we are glad that our chance was to be here now, where undoubtedly the place and the time have both served us to stand in better stead, and to do better service, than if we had been there with you, &c. From Wilton, 9th October, 1549."

They immediately took active measures to meet the expected rising; the same day a letter was sent by Russell and Herbert, to the Sheriff of Gloucester and others, "to suppress the publication of any idle rumours, and to forbid all persons from assembling without due authority."

A few days after this, Somerset was arrested, and for a time kept in the Tower.

As the cost of providing funds for the suppression of the rebellion had fallen mainly on the Lords of the Council, they repaid themselves by tampering with the currency, and still further adding to the base coinage which had already driven gold out of the country and produced other disastrous complications. On the 28th October of this year a warrant was addressed to the Master of the Mint, setting forth that whereas the well-beloved Councillor Sir William Herbert, in suppression of the rebels, had not only spent the great part of his plate and substance, but had borrowed for the same purpose great sums of money, for which he remained indebted—the officers of the mint might receive at his hands two thousand pounds weight in bullion, in fine silver—the said bullion to be coined and printed into money current, according to the established standard—the money so made to be delivered to the said Sir William Herbert, with all such profits as would otherwise have gone to the crown, after deducting the expenses of coining. The profit to Sir William Herbert, beyond the sum which he would have received as a bullion merchant for the 2,000 lb. of silver, was £6,709 19*s.*; and immediately afterwards the same privilege was extended to Warwick, Arundell, Southampton, Paget, Dorset, Russell, and Northampton, for an equal sum to be raised by similar means.[1]

The distress and discontent in the country at this time were very great, the popular feeling was in favour of the deposed Protector; but Warwick, who was the soul of the ultra-Protestant party, was paramount in the Council. On this point Mr. Froude says, "Lulled by the panegyrics of the

[1] Froude's *History of England*, chap. xxvi.

Protestants, who saw in them all that was most excellent, most noble, most devout, the lords, or rather the triumvirate of Warwick, Northampton, and Sir William Herbert, who now governed England, were contented to earn their praises by fine words, by persecuting and depriving bishops inclined to be conservative, and by confiscating and appropriating the estates of the vacated sees."

Somerset now made a last attempt to regain power. In April of the year 1551, he had been on the point of flying to the northern counties with Lord Grey, to call out the people and place himself at their head, and had only been prevented by Sir William Herbert, who assured him that he was in no danger. The design of taking action, however, assumed form, the Duchess of Somerset invoked the aid of her brother, Sir Michael Stanhope, and her half-brother, Sir Thomas Arundell. A scheme was formed to arrest and imprison Warwick, Northampton, and Herbert, into which the Earl of Arundell entered eagerly and warmly; but Somerset's mind misgave him, and his purposes were vacillating. First there was a doubt whether Herbert should be included in the arrest; afterwards, according to one witness, the duke changed his mind, "and would meddle no further with the apprehension of any of the Council, and said he was sorry he had gone so far with the Earl of Arundell." A few months more saw the end of Somerset. On the 16th October he was again arrested and sent to the Tower, where he was afterwards beheaded.

It was only a few days before Somerset's arrest that significant and important changes in the peerage were made amongst the principal members of the Council. Warwick became Duke of Northumberland; Lord Dorset, Lady Jane Grey's father, was made Duke of Suffolk; Sir William Herbert, Baron Herbert of Cardiff, and on the

next day he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Pembroke. This title had been previously borne, as we have already seen, by his grandfather.

Pembroke had sat on the trial of Somerset, in Westminster Hall (December 1551), together with twenty-six other peers. The Protector's death had been followed by the trial and execution of Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundell, and others. The condemnation of Arundell was effected with great difficulty. The jury were shut up on a day in January, twenty-four hours, without fire, food, or drink, before they would agree on a verdict. The forfeiture of the estates of the Duke of Somerset gave occasion to a sharp debate in the Commons. Pembroke benefitted very largely by grants of Wiltshire estates, both from the late Protector, and Sir Thomas Arundell. From the latter's attainder he got Wardour Castle and Park, which afterwards reverted again to the Arundell's by exchange and purchase.[1]

The Duke of Somerset being acquitted of treason, but found guilty of felony, his dignities and entailed estates were not necessarily forfeited, but, of the remainder of his North Wilts property, Pembroke received a large share. The grant is dated 7th May, 6 Edward VI. (*Patent Rolls*, part 7) and included the manor and parks of Ramsbury, Hundred of Kinwardstone, the Broil of Bedwin situated on Doddesdown, Baydon, Axford, the Earldoms, etc.

During the interval of the Duke of Somerset's fall and his second arrest, he devoted himself a good deal to building; in a letter from John Knox he is upbraided, in that he preferred the company of his architects and masons, to

[1] "Werdore Castle and park there which came to the Lord's hands as an Escheat by the attainder of Thomas Arundell Kt as that which he held of the Lord by Knights service, as of the Bell house at Wilton by the iiij part of a Knights fee." *Pembroke Terrier.*

attendance at chapel and sermons. It was about this time that he commenced the foundations of his new mansion at Bedwin Broil, so graphically described by Canon Jackson, in his paper on "Wulfhall and the Seymours."[1] In the grant to Lord Pembroke the foundations, conduits, etc. are mentioned.

Ramsbury manor house was occupied by the Pembrokes down to the middle of the seventeenth century. Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, in her diary, says that she lived here, and at Baynard's Castle, during the troubled married life of herself and Philip, the fourth earl. About this time it was described by Symonds, in his MS. journal,[2] as "a fine square stone house—a brave seate tho' not comparable to Wilton". Ramsbury manor was sold in 1676, by Philip, the seventh earl, to "one Powell," for £30,155. This purchase was probably made on behalf of Sir William Jones, Kt., Attorney-General. The woodlands at the Earldoms, on the borders of the New Forest, remained in possession of the Pembrokes down to the present time, and were only sold in 1877, under powers of the Inclosure Commissioners, for the purpose of exchange.[3]

In November, 1551, the Queen Dowager of Scotland paid a visit to the court of Edward VI, in considerable

[1] *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xv.

[2] British Museum, Harl. MS. No. 939, edited for the Camden Society, by the late Mr. Charles Edward Long.

[3] Just previous to this grant of the Earldoms, Pembroke had been engaged in settling a dispute between the Bishop of Salisbury and a family of the name of Light, relating to the office of woodward of the Langley Woods, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Earldoms. Pembroke's award, dated 16 October, 5 Edward VI, and preserved among the muniments of the see of Salisbury, is printed in Hoare's *Modern Wilts, Frustfield Hundred*, p. 63. In the same volume (p. 66), an account is given of the Earldoms, in which these woodlands are considered to represent one of the early grants to the

state. The queen came to London from Hampton Court, and lodged at Baynard's Castle, thence riding to the bishop's palace with many lords; she afterwards rode through the city of London with the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Pembroke, attended by more than a hundred gentlemen, well mounted and richly dressed in coats guarded with velvet, wearing chains, and hats with white feathers.

Early in the year 1552, Lord Pembroke lost his first wife Anne, by whom he had two sons; Henry, afterwards second Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Edward Herbert; also a daughter Anne, who married Lord Talbot, son of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. Lady Pembroke was buried in old St. Paul's. An account of her funeral is preserved in the *Diary of Henry Machin*, citizen of London (Camden Society, vol. xlii.) :—

"On the 28th February was buried the noble Countess of Pembroke, sister to the late Queen Katharine, wife of King Henry VIII. She died at Baynard's Castle, and was so carried into Paul's. There were a hundred poor men and women who had mantle frieze gowns; then came the heralds; after this the corpse, and about her, eight banner rolls of arms. Then came the mourners both lords and knights and gentlemen, also the lady and gentlewomen mourners to the number of two hundred. After these were two hundred of her

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Abbey of Wilton, under the name of Frustfield. This grant seems to have been included with South Newton, near Wilton, and had certain rights of pasturage and wood in the forest of Melchet. There is a Newton situated in the tything of Whelpeley, close by Melchet. The description given of the Earldoms in the grant, as well as in the Pembroke Terrier, is "The Eardoms lye neare the fforest of Milshott, in the fields and parish of Whiteparish, Landford, and Plaitford". The Terrier adds, "These Woods did anciently belong to the Duke of Somerset, before his Attainder, but being then forfeited were granted out from the Crown as above". (Granted in the patent of Ramsbury to William, Earl of Pembroke, and the heirs males of his body, 7 May, 6 Edward VI.)

Anne, first wife of Sir William Herbert, and daughter of Thomas, Lord Parr, of Kendal.

(From stained glass in Wilton Church.)

Edw. Kite, del.

own and other servants in coats. She was buried by the tomb of [the Duke of] Lancaster. Afterwards her banners were set up over her, and her arms set on divers pillars."

In the old chapel at Wilton House was preserved a stained glass window, in which were painted the kneeling figures of Lord Pembroke and his two sons, also that of his wife, Anne Parr, and her daughter. The glass is now removed to the new Church at Wilton, and will be found in the first window to the right on entering. Lady Pembroke is represented as wearing a rich mantle, covered with her armorial bearings, an engraving of which is given on the opposite page. The lady's mantle bears the following quarterings:—

1. Argent, two bars Azure within a bordure engrailed Sable—PARR.
2. Or, three water bougets Sable—Ros, of Kendal.
3. Azure, three bucks trippant Vert—GREEN.
4. Gules, a chevron between three cross-crosslets, and in chief a lion passant Or—MABLETHORPE.
5. Azure, three chevronels braced in base, and a chief Or—FITZHUGH.
6. Vaire, a fess Gules—MARMION.
7. Or, three chevronels Gules, a chief Vaire—ST. QUENTIN.
8. Gules, a bend between six cross-crosslets Or—FURNEAUX.
9. Barry of eight Argent and Gules, a fleur-de-lis Sable—STAVELY.
10. [This last quartering, now replaced by a fragment of flowered glass, was no doubt that of GERNEGAN—Barry of ten Or and Azure, an eagle displayed Argent.]

In May, 1552, Pembroke mustered his band of retainers, with others, in Greenwich Park,. the standard before them being of red, white and blue, and a dragon with an arm in his mouth, his men being clothed in embroidered coats of his own livery. We learn from Strype that "a retainer was a servant not menial [that is continually dwelling in the house of his lord, or master], but only wearing his livery, and attending sometime upon

special occasions upon him. The livery was wont to consist of hats or hoods, badges and other suits of one garment by the year. These licences were given many times to lords and gentlemen on purpose for maintenance of quarrels, and many murders were committed by means thereof, and feuds kept up among the nobility and gentry."

In June, 1552, King Edward began his last progress in great state. It had been resolved that the extent of his journey should be to Poole, in Dorsetshire, and to come back by Salisbury homeward to Hampton Court; fifty pounds of gold was coined, of the new standard, to carry about in the progress. On this occasion the king paid a visit to Lord Pembroke, at Wilton.

Northumberland had now succeeded in bringing the country into a state of great discontent: the position of things is thus described by Strype:—

"The Court was very corrupt and extremly covetous, especially towards the declining of the king's reign; raking continually from the king (who was fain to borrow), for the enriching of themselves, and maklng prey also of one another."

He also speaks of Pembroke in the following terms:—

"Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, now grew great, having been lately advanced from a commoner to a nobleman, specially since the conspiracy of the Duke of Somerset, wherein it was pretended that he, together with the Duke of Northumberland and the Marquis of Northampton his brother-in-law, should have been assassinated; whereby he became linked in with those two overtopping men. He was made president of the Council for the Marches of Wales in 1552. And in this last year of the king, he made two great purchases of land and lordships from the crown, which cost him upwards of £1800. He was made the first and chief of a commission to view and survey all church goods, plate, furniture, etc., belonging to any church, chapel, or guild, in the county of Chester. The king also bestowed upon him the office of keeping the forests and parks of Claringdon, Pauncet, Buckholt, and Melthurst, in Wilts; to him and his son for their lives. And he

obtained, as of the king's gift, the manor of Dungate, in Somersetshire, with other lands and possessions."[1]

As the health of the king was visibly declining, Northumberland began to prepare his scheme for diverting the succession. There were rumours of disagreement at the council board. It was said that Lord Pembroke had desired to leave London, and had been compelled forcibly to remain. However that may be, Pembroke joined Northumberland in his plans; for the startling announcement was soon after made that Lord Guildford Dudley, fourth son of Northumberland, a boy of seventeen, had married the Lady Jane Grey; and Pembroke's eldest son, the still more youthful Lord Herbert, her sister, the Lady Katharine. According to the will of Henry VIII, it will be remembered that these sisters Grey were next heirs to the

[1] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii, p. 74. It is difficult to arrive at any exact estimate of the grants made on the part of the Crown to Lord Pembroke during the reign of Edward VI. Mr. Froude credits him with having received a larger share than any other member of the Council, and refers to a report made to Parliament on the accession of Mary, professing to give the particulars of the various gifts made by Edward to his ministers. This document is evidently drawn up with the intention of giving as little information as possible. In this report (*State Papers, Domestic*, Edward VI, vol xix) there are thirteen entries of grants to Lord Pembroke, including some exchanges and purchases, but in only some cases are the values given, and the exact localities are in no instances mentioned. The grant of 10th October, 1551, on the occasion of Pembroke's advancement to the peerage (*Particulars for Grants, Exchequer, Court of Augmentation*, 5 Edward VI, sect. iv.) refers to the rents reserved originally on the Wilton and other estates by Henry VIII. Also to Baynard's Castle, of which he had previously been "keeper of the same by virtue of letters patent to him thereof made." Also to the manor of Bishopston, formerly a possession of the late Bishop of Winchester.

On Gardiner's return to power in the time of Queen Mary, he did not fail to remind Pembroke, at the first meeting of the council, that he was in possession of estates which had been taken from the see of Winchester.

crown, after his own children. That the duke had secured a powerful supporter in the Earl of Pembroke, was no longer doubted. The king rapidly got worse, and died July 6th, 1553. The announcement of her succession to the throne was made to the Lady Jane, by Northumberland, attended by Pembroke and others. The Earl of Pembroke, as he approached, knelt to kiss her hand. A very few days sufficed to show that Northumberland's attempt to change the succession by implicating the members of the council was of no avail, the popular feeling was running strongly against him, and Mary's accession was secured. This marriage—in form only—between Lord Herbert and the Lady Katharine Grey, was hastily broken off and declared invalid[1]. Her destiny, however, was still connected with Wiltshire; she was some years afterwards married clandestinely to Lord Hertford, son of Protector Somerset, and now lies buried with her husband in Salisbury Cathedral, where a magnificent monument was erected to their memory.

The popular will having been so strongly expressed in

[1] There are several later accounts of this quasi-marriage, most of them incorrect in some particulars. Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1641, says, "By the letter written [by Pembroke] uppon his sonn's marriage with the Lady Katharine Gray, he had like utterly to have lost himselfe: but at the instant of consummation as apprehending the unsafety and danger of intermarriage with the blood royall, he fell at the queen's feet, where he both acknowledged his presumption, and projected the cause and the divorce together. So quick was he at his worke, that in the time of repudiation of the sayd Lady Gray, he clapt up a marriage for his son, the Lord Herbert, with Mary Sidney, daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland; the blow falling on Edward, Earl of Hertford, who, to his cost, took up the divorced Lady."

Sir Robert Naunton has placed this event, of the first marriage, in the reign of Elizabeth, instead of Mary; he also confuses the second and third marriages of Lord Herbert.

Dugdale, in his *Baronage* (vol. ii, p. 258), also gives an account of

favour of Mary, Pembroke did not hesitate to take an active part in the movement. On the 19th July, Winchester, Arundell, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bedford, and others, who were still under the eyes of the Tower garrison, found means of passing the gates, and made their way to Pembroke's residence at Baynard's Castle, where they sent for the Lord Mayor, and other magistrates of the city. The meeting was first addressed by Arundell, who said the country was on the brink of civil war, and if they continued to support the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey to the crown, civil war would inevitably break out, and so lead to the interference of France and Spain. Pembroke rose next. The words of Lord Arundell, he said, were true and good, and not to be gainsaid. What others thought he knew not; for himself he was so convinced, that he would fight in the quarrel with any man; and if words are not enough, he cried, flashing his sword out of the scabbard, "this blade shall make Mary queen, or I will lose my life."[1]

the circumstances connected with the marriage, and quotes the statement of Sir Robert Naunton, but in his MS. additions to the *Baronage* (*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. ii, p. 80), he says, "In this passage Sr. Rob. Naunton is somewhat mistaken; for certain it is that upon the repudiation of the Lady Katharine Grey, being not ignorant of Queen Mary's great affection to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, he marryed this his son Henry, to Katharine, the daughter of that Earle: which Katherine shortly after departing this life, he speedily matcht himself to Mary, the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, Knt. of the Garter, by Mary his wife, daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; by which he did no lesse endeavour to ingratiate himself with the Lord Robert Dudley [one of the sons of that duke, and afterwards Earl of Leicester] who at that time began to grow powerfull at court; than by the former, to insinuate himself with Duke Dudley, the great man of his time."

The marriage of Lord Herbert, however, with Katharine, daughter of Lord Shrewsbury, did not take place till some ten years afterwards, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

[1] Froude's *History of England*, chap. xxx.

The lords, accompanied by the mayor and heralds, went to the cross at Cheapside, to proclaim Mary queen. Pembroke himself stood out to read; and this time there was no reason to complain of a silent audience. He could utter but one sentence before his voice was lost in the shout of joy which thundered into the air. "God save the Queen" rung out from ten thousands of throats. "God save the Queen," cried Pembroke himself, when he had done, and flung up his jewelled cap and tossed his purse among the crowd.[1]

Pembroke was one of the twelve mourners at the funeral of King Edward, at Westminster, according to the ritual of the Church of England; Mary having been with difficulty persuaded to abandon her intention of having a mass for the dead celebrated there. The queen's residence in the Tower had already become irksome to her, as she was still surrounded by thousands of armed men, the levies of Derby and Hastings, and the retainers of Pembroke, Arundell, and Bedford. Pembroke absented himself from the presence; he was required to return, and to reduce the number of his followers. Lord Derby complained to Renard, the envoy of the Emperor Charles V, that those who had saved her crown were treated with

[1] Events passed rapidly in those days. Pembroke was godfather to a child of Underhill's, the hot gospeller. The account of the christening is given by Strype (*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii, p. 180). "In the days of King Edward he [Underhill] was of such good esteem, and so well known and beloved by the nobility, that having a son born during the short reign of Queen Jane, she was godmother, and named him after her husband's name, Guildford; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's lady being deputy, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Pembroke, godfathers. Immediately after the christening was done, Queen Mary was proclaimed in Cheapside, the deputy godmother, returning to the Tower, to wait upon her lady, found the cloth of state taken down, and all things defaced belonging to Jane as queen, and she, as well as her mistress, taken prisoners."

neglect, while men like Arundell, Pembroke, and Bedford, who had been parties to the treasons against her, remained in power. Lord Russell was soon after placed under arrest, Pembroke and Winchester were ordered to keep their houses, and the court was distracted with suspicion, discord, and uncertainty.

The Queen restored the Roman ritual without delay, but some precautions were necessary. The late king had been buried on August 8th. We learn from Foxe that on Sunday, August 20th, Dr. Watson, the Bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present the Marquis of Winchester, Pembroke, Bedford, and Rich; from a contemporary letter we also learn that "thear was 120 of the garde that stoode round aboute the crosse with their halberds to gard the preacher and to apprehend them that would stuire." Pembroke was also present at the coronation of the queen, which took place on October 1st of the same year.

The question of the Spanish marriage, and Mary's determination to suppress Protestantism, speedily led to disunion in the Council; Gardiner was the only statesman in the country who thought a return to Catholic union practicable or desirable; while there was scarcely an influential family, titled or untitled, which was not, by grant, or purchase, in possession of confiscated Church property. Aubrey's story of the return of the nuns to Wilton on the accession of Mary, and of their subsequent dismissal in Elizabeth's time, in the coarse language attributed to Pembroke, is purely imaginary. One of the first things done by the Commons after Mary's accession was to come to an understanding that lay owners of Church lands should not be disturbed in their tenure under any pretence whatever, nor had the queen at any time afterwards power to alter this decision.

Although Wilton was not invaded by the nuns, it was disturbed by local quarrels, notably by Lord Stourton's servants, as appears by the following extract of a letter addressed to the Council, dated August 19th, 1553:—[1] "And towching the mattre betwene the Earle of Pembroke's servantes and the Lorde Sturtons, what is all redy [? known to] you, my Lorde of Norffolk can well declare. This afternoone we will traveil to the best of our poures to make a parfight ende thereof." The exact cause of the quarrel does not appear, it probably arose from some jealously on the part of Lord Stourton, who belonged to the old Catholic party, and whose restless tendencies are too well known, from his quarrel with, and subsequent murder of the Hartgills, at Kilmington.[2] The state of things at this time can be very well understood from a passage in Aubrey:—

"Wm. 1st E. of Pembroke, being a stranger in our country [Wilts] and an upstart, was much envyed, and in those days of sword and buckler, noblemen, and also great knights, as the Longs, &c, when they went to the assizes or sessions at Salisbury, &c., had a great number of retainers following them, and there were in those days, feuds—*e.g.*, quarrells and animosities, between great neighbours. Particularly this new Earle was much envyed by the then Lord Sturton, of Sturton, who when he went or returned from Sarum (by Wilton was his rode), would sound his trumpetts, and give reproachful challenging words. T'was a relique of knight errantry."[3]

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic,* Mary, vol. i, No. 9.

[2] Lord Stourton was executed at Salisbury for this offence. Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation,* gives an account of an attempt on the part of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Pembroke, and the High Sheriff, Sir Anthony Hungerford, to evade the receipt of a reprieve, or pardon, which was said to have been brought down to Wilton, on the night previous to the execution, by Lord Stourton's son. This improbable story has been shown by Canon Jackson to be incorrect, and most probably untrue, in his account of Lord Stourton and the Hartgills. (*Wilts Magazine,* vol. viii, p. 260.)

[3] *Lives of Eminent Men,* vol. ii, p. 479.

The marriage of the queen with Philip of Spain was deferred owing to the strong opposition which found vent in Wyatt's rebellion. The queen rode boldly into London and appealed to the citizens. In St. Paul's Churchyard she met Pembroke and slightly bowed as she passed him. Gardiner, more demonstrative, was observed to stoop to his saddle. When Wyatt was thundering at the gates, Mary was advised to take shelter instantly at Windsor. The lords were divided. Gardiner insisted again that she must and should go; the others were uncertain, or inclined to the advice of Renard, the emperor's envoy, that she should stay. At last Mary said that she would be guided by Pembroke and Clinton. If those two would undertake to stand by her, she would remain and see out the struggle. They were not present, and were sent for on the spot. Pembroke, for weeks past, had certainly wavered; Lord Thomas Grey believed at one time that he had gained him over, and to the last felt sure of his neutrality. Happily for Mary, he decided on supporting the queen, and promised to defend her with his life. At four o'clock in the morning, drums went round the city, calling the train-bands to an instant muster at Charing Cross. Pembroke's conduct determined the young lords and gentlemen about the court, who with their servants were swiftly mounted and under arms; and by eight, more than ten thousand men were brought together. Pembroke's judicious disposal of his troops, and prompt action, carried everything before him; the rebellion was now at an end.[1]

[1] A document in the State Paper Office (*Domestic*, Philip and Mary, No. 47) gives the names of certain lords and gentlemen who were to be rewarded for acting against the rebels, showing the additions by some person in high place, suggesting the manner in which those who had served Queen Mary were to be rewarded. The

Peter Vannes, in his report to the Council of Ten, says, "If Lords Pembroke, Clinton, and the other captains, could hear how loudly they are commended here,[1] they would think their loyalty sufficiently rewarded.

Two factions, distinctly marked, were now growing in the Council—the party of the statesmen, composed of Paget, Arundell, Pembroke, Lord William Howard, Winchester, &c.—the party of the Church, composed of Gardiner, Petre, Rochester, Jerningham, &c. Divided on all other questions, the rival parties agreed only no longer to oppose the coming of Philip. Egmont, the envoy of Charles V., had brought over presents and promises. Pensions of two thousand crowns had been offered to, and were probably accepted by, the Earls of Pembroke, Arundell, Derby, and Shrewsbury; other peers received a smaller amount. The pensions were large, but, as Renard observed, when Charles seemed to hesitate, several of the recipients were old, and would soon die; and as to the rest, things in England were changing from day to day, and some means would easily be found to put an end to the payments.

On the 6th March 1554, the ambassadors from Spain were conducted by Pembroke into the presence chamber, and the betrothal took place, Philip being represented by Count Egmont. Mary had still some weeks of uneasiness and depression before her long expected husband came. Renard wrote that the tempers of men were never worse than at that moment. Gardiner persuaded the queen, perhaps not without reason, that he was himself in danger of being arrested by Paget and Pembroke. On the other

Earl of Pembroke's name was placed at the head by the same writer. Amongst the Lord Lieutenant's men was included the name of Mr. Penruddocke, the standard-bearer.

[1] *Venice Archives*, 1553-4.

hand, twelve noblemen and gentlemen undertook to stand by Mary, if she would arrest Paget and Pembroke. Winchester and Rochester discussed the feasibility of seizing them, but Lord Howard and the Channel Fleet were thought to present too formidable an obstacle.

At last Mary was gladdened by the announcement of the arrival of the Marquis de las Navas, at Plymouth, with the news that the prince was by that time on his way. The marquis, who was major-domo to the prince, is described as being "an ancient gentleman about the year of fifty or better, bearing himself very honorably."

The marquis landed at Plymouth on the 1st June, where he was met by Edward Lord Dudley, accompanied by the Earl of Pembroke, for the purpose of conducting him to court. Although Mary had never received a line of sympathy or love from Philip, he had sent her by the hands of the envoy a single diamond with its ornaments, valued at eighty-thousand crowns. An interesting letter is preserved in the Public Record Office[1], which I print in full, describing the visit of the envoy, with his large retinue and attendants, to Wilton House, on his way to London, and their reception on the route by Pembroke's youthful son, Lord Herbert, and other magnates of the county. It was sent by Lord Dudley to the Council.

"May hytt please youre honors to vnderstand thatt, acordynge to my aduertysementt frome Shaftesburye, the Marques on Sonday laste lay att Wylton, the Yerle of Pembroke's howse, ande by the way, cummynge thytherwarde, the sayde Marques was honorably met wt my Lorde Harbartt, who had of hys owne nomber cc horse, gentylmen ande yemen, all well horsed and appoyntted; ande, besydes, the Shryfe of the Shyre, wt the gentyllmen thereof, and theyre servantes, weere other cc horse; so thatt in the whole they weere fowre hundrethe. And as thys Marques ande Yerle wentt and rode to Wylton theyre weere certeyn cowrses att the hare, whyche

[1] *State Papers, Domestic*, Mary, vol. iv, No. 13.

was so pleasantt thatt the Marques muche delyted in feyndynge the cowrses so reddelye apoynted. As for the Marques greate cheyre, as well thatt nyght att sowper, as otherwyse att hys brekefaste the nextt day, surely hytt was so abundantt thatt hytt was natt a lyttyll marveyle to consyder thatt so greate a preparacyon cowlde be made in so small a warnynge. Surely the Marques hathe natt a lyttyll marveyled of hys enterteynmentt thatt he had wt my Lord Harbartt —whatt for the meatynge of hyme, hys pastyme by the way, wt hys greate cheyre; ande agayn, the hansomnes and commodyteys of Wylton, wt the goode apoyntementt and the goode fornyture thereof; in all thynges wherof the better hathe nott been seen. Ande surely hytt was natt a lyttyll comfortt to my harte to see all thynges so honorablye vsed for the honor ande servys of the Queene's Maiestey. As for the lyttyll Lorde Harbartt, althoughe he beynge a chylde of yeyres, yett he vsed hyme selfe, rather, lyke a mane; so dyscreatly thatt the Marques dyd muche commende hyme, no less then he was worthey. Thys day the Marques, desyrous to make haste to the Quenes Maiestey, entendeth to be att Gyllford att sowpper; and thys beynge the remouing day I was desyrous to haue stayed hyme. Yett I hearynge nothynge frome youre honors thoughtt nott good otherwyse to apoynte hyme; and therefore haue sentt herein enclosed the names of them thatt cume wt the Marques. Theyre nomber of servantes, woone ande other, are natt aboue fyftey. Ande bycawse that thys day the sayd Marques entendeth to send sume of hys companye the nextt way to London, I cowlde natt therefore sende vnto youre honors the full ceyrteynty; butt fyftey ys the moste. Thys berar, my seruant, ys well practysed and knoen emongst them; wherefore yf hytt may stande wt youre pleasures to apoynte hyme wt the Queenes Maiesteys harbyngar, as well to vnderstand the place where the sayd Marques shallbe, as also to instructe the harbyngars the degrees of them, thatt they may be placed acordyngely. And so hyt may stande wt youre pleasures to retorne my mane wt youre full determynacyon whyther I shall brynge them. So I moste humbly take my leaue. Wrytten att Basynge, my Lorde Tresorar's howse, the xix of Jùn.

Att the commandementt of youre honors durynge life."

"E. Duddeley."

"I beseche youre honors to pardon me thatt I so rudely wrytt vnto youe, by reason wherof thatt I wt my men hathe as muche to doo as we cane turne vs; and natt hauyinge my clerke to wrytt, I was the worse fornyshed. Over and besydes they baylyfes here dysapoynted me in sendynge of thys letter, wherof also I humblye beseeche youe to pardon me."

[*Addressed.*]

"To the ryght honorable ande my especyall goode Lordes, my Lordes of the Queenes Maiesteys most honorable pryuey councell haste poste haste haste wt all dylygence."

The road from Shaftesbury to Wilton, at that time, would be over the downs, by what is still known as the old Shaftesbury road, and well adapted for "cowrses at the hare." The "lyttyll Lorde Harbartt" probably knew the country well; he afterwards established the Salisbury Race over this same district. Aubrey says:—

"This race is of two sorts: the greater, fourteen miles, beginnes at Whitesheet, and ends on Harnham-hill, which is very seldom runn, not once perhaps in twenty yeares. The shorter begins at a place called the Start, at the end of the edge of the north downe of the farme of Broad Chalke, and ends at the standing at the hare warren, built by William, Earle of Pembroke, and is four miles from the Start."[1]

It will not be uninteresting to see what impression of English life was, at this time, made on a foreigner. In the report on England made by Soranzo to the Senate, dated August, 1554,[2] he says:—

"The nobility, save such as are employed at court, do not habitually reside in the cities, but in their own country mansions, where they keep up very grand establishments, both with regard to great abundance of eatables consumed by them, as also by reason of their numerous attendants, in which they exceed all other nations, so that the Earl of Pembroke has upwards of 1000 clad in his own livery. In these their country residences they occupy themselves with hunting of every description, and with whatever else can amuse or divert them; so that they seem wholly intent on leading a joyous existence, the women being no less sociable than the men, it being customary for them and allowable to go without any regard either alone or accompanied by their husbands to the taverns, and to dine and sup where they please."

Pembroke had no sooner finished his reception of the envoy, than he prepared to meet the prince on his landing.

[1] *Natural History of Wiltshire*, part ii, chapter xv.

[2] *State Papers, Venetian*, vol. v, p. 544.

On the 19th July, the Spanish squadron, now joined by the combined fleets of England and Spain, came to anchor in the port of Southampton.[1] On the 23rd of that month, the Earl of Pembroke arrived with a brilliant company of two hundred mounted gentlemen, dressed in black velvet, and wearing heavy gold chains, to escort the Prince to Winchester. He was attended, besides, by a body of English archers, whose tunics of yellow cloth, striped with bars of red velvet, displayed the livery of the house of Aragon. At Winchester the queen was attended by almost the entire peerage of England. Pembroke played an important part in the magnificent marriage ceremonial held in that city. Some embarrassment occurred as to the person who should give the queen away—a part of the ceremony which had not been provided for. After a brief conference, it was removed by the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earls of Pembroke, and Derby, coming forward and performing the office in the name of the whole realm, upon which the people gave a great shout, and prayed God to send them joy. Directly the hand of Queen Mary was given to King Philip, the Earl of Pembroke advanced and carried before the bridegroom a sword of state, the symbol of sovereignty, which he had hitherto kept out of sight; the royal pair returned hand-in-hand from the high altar.

The brilliant nuptial ceremonies could not, however,

[1] Some particulars of Philip's arrival, not elsewhere recorded, are given in the report made by the French ambassador to his master (*Ambassades de Noailles*, iii, 284). It states that when the Marquis de las Navas found that the Prince was not far from land, he placed himself in a boat with Lord Herbert, of Cardiff, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, and five other sons of noblemen, and proceeded to the ship in which the Prince was; to whom he presented the said English lords to be gentlemen of his chamber, to which he assented very graciously.

hide the wide-spread discontent. The peers who had collected for the marriage, dispersed to their counties. The Spanish followers of the king were looked upon with the gravest discontent, and it was even rumoured that in the month of September, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, and Westmoreland, contemplated raising a standard of revolt at York. However this may be, it appears that two months later, November 12th, 1554, the king and queen rode in their parliament robes to Westminster, to open Parliament, the Earl of Pembroke bearing the sword of state before the king. At this time Cardinal Pole obtained his long-wished-for permission to return to England as the Pope's legate, and a reconciliation with Rome was effected. In the spring of the following year (1555) the queen, who had strangely persuaded herself that she was about to present the nation with an heir to the throne, wished to celebrate the event by making peace between France and the emperor. For thirty-five years these two great Catholic powers had been wrestling with but brief interruption, the advantage to either had been as trifling as their quarrel was insignificant. A conference was therefore agreed upon, in which England was to mediate. A village within the Calais pale was selected as the place of the assembly, and Pole, Gardiner, Paget, and Pembroke were chosen to arrange the terms of a general peace, with the Bishop of Arras, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Montmorency. Disappointment was the result all round. The conference came to nothing, the queen awoke to the melancholy consciousness that she was suffering from a mortal disease, and Philip began to tire of his bride and his newly-adopted country.

All the energies and revenues of the queen had been so exclusively directed to the wants of the Church, that the fortresses of Calais and Guisnes had been neglected and allowed to fall into disrepair. Since the taking of

Boulogne the French had never ceased to regard the expulsion of the English as a feat to be accomplished, sooner or later. In a letter written in cipher from Michieli, Venetian Ambassador, to the Doge and Senate, dated March 12th, 1555,[1] he says :—

"The king having sent in haste last week for the Earl of Pembroke, one of the chief noblemen of England, who, as usual with him, was living in retirement at his country seat 60 miles hence ;[2] his sudden appearance in London caused a very general report of its being induced by war with France."

He afterwards finds "that the object of Pembroke's mission was to superintend the fortifications of Guisnes, and to give advice to the deputy at Calais ; Lord Wentworth's youth and inexperience might encourage the French to attack those places, should the queen's confinement terminate inauspicially."

Five days after this, Frederico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with Charles V., writes to the Doge and Senate :[3]

"The Earl of Pembroke, who is considered the chief personage in England, having more followers there than anybody, has arrived at Calais, with only six servants, bringing letters from the king and queen for the warder, desiring him to obey the Earl's orders. He has not said a word about the cause of his coming, which there and here has caused much comment. Many suppose, that to facilitate the peace with his most Christian Majesty, the emperor induced the queen to send Lord Pembroke, because the French hold him in great esteem."

On his way from Wilton, to execute his commission at Paris, he assisted at the consecration of Cardinal Pole, as Archbishop of Canterbury. This took place on Passion Sunday, 1555, in the conventual Church of the

[1] *State Papers, Venetian,* 1555-1556, No. 24.

[2] Not sixty miles, but eighty-three ; this mistake, however, is not remarkable in a foreigner living in England at that time.

[3] *State Papers, Venetian,* 1555-1556, No. 31.

Grey Friars, at Greenwich. The archbishop took his oath to the pope, in the parlour, the queen being present. Pembroke was there with other officials, as he was again a few days afterwards at Bow Church, which was "hanged with cloth of gold and with rich arras, and laid with curtains, for the coming of the Lord Cardinal Pole."

Pembroke's stay at Calais did not exceed two months; the reasons for his sudden return are learnt in a letter from Giovanni Michieli to the Doge and Senate, dated May 6th, 1555.[1] In these communications it was usual to write important political matter in cipher; the passage printed in italics was so written:—

"The Earl of Pembroke has been unexpectedly recalled from Calais, he expecting to remain there some time, having sent for his wife, who was already on her way. Persons the best informed attribute this return solely to King Philip's wish to have him about his person at the time of this delivery, relying greatly, let happen what may, on his fidelity and power, and on being able to make better use of him here than across the Channel; and should it be necessary to make any provision, *either by covertly mustering troops, as has apparently been ordered, or for anything else,* through his numerous followers, he will be able to do it better than all the others."

Four days later we have another instance of how all minute particulars were forwarded to foreign Courts by their representatives, also the fact that Pembroke did not know any other language than his own. Badoer writes to the Doge and Senate:—

"The Earl of Pembroke, who was at Calais, having been appointed third commissioner for the Queen of England, has crossed the Channel on a summons from the king; some persons say because the ministers know him to be unfit for this negociation, as he neither speaks nor understands any other language than the English. Others are of opinion that the King and Qeeen wish to have him near them in case of any accident in those parts, he being their Majesties lieutenant, a faithful subject, and one who has very great authority in that kingdom."[2]

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[1] *State Papers, Venetian*, 1555-1556, No. 72. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 77.

Soon after his return from Calais, we find Pembroke attending the obsequies of the Queen of Spain, the king's grandmother, at St. Paul's; where "the hearse set up was the goodliest ever seen in England; the bare frame whereof, the work of the carpenter, cost £15. After mass, a great dinner at the Bishop of London's place, with great plenty".

Mary's strange hallucination having now become apparent, she fell into a depressed state; persecution, distrust, and famine had caused grievous discontent; Philip was now only desirous to return to Flanders, nor had he long to wait for the opportunity.

In the autumn of 1555 the king received a summons from his father to leave England and join him in Flanders; the cause of this sudden movement was one that filled the Castilians, as it did all Europe, with astonishment—the proposed abdication of Charles V. On the 4th September, Philip made his entry into Calais, and soon after resumed his journey with his splendid train of Castilians and English nobles, amongst whom were the Earls of Arundell, Pembroke, and Huntingdon. On the road they were met by a military escort, sent by his father, and so entered Brussels, where the emperor and his court were eagerly awaiting them. The royal party dismounted at the casino near the Louvain Gate; the king kneeling before his father, begging permission to kiss his hand. He then called by name the Admiral, Lord William Howard, the Earls of Arundell and Pembroke, and some other English gentlemen, and presented them to the emperor, who received them joyfully, but did not allow them to kiss his hand, it being his wont never to give it to such as are not his own subjects.[1]

The year 1556 opened inauspiciously. The Dudley

[1] *State Papers, Venetian*, 1555-1556, No. 214.

conspiracy had come to nothing, but disaffection had penetrated deeply, not only amongst the people, but into the English garrisons in France, where the French were still waiting for their opportunity. The Catholic party had not a soldier among them, Pembroke himself went over in command with reinforcements and supplies, in time to save Calais for a few more months. The date of his departure, we learn from Strype, was November 25th, "The Earl of Pembroke took his barge for Calais".

In March 1557, Philip paid his last visit to England for a few weeks, not for the pleasure of seeing the queen, but to make arrangements for an English contingent to join his forces in an attack on the French. The Council gave their reluctant consent, and seven thousand men were to cross the Channel and join Pembroke in the Low Countries. The outward show of the "pomp and circumstance" of war, was not disregarded. Heralds belonging to the sovereign receive gowns of the colours of the livery of the generals, upon whom they were ordered to attend, at the expense of the crown. In a warrant to the Wardrobe, in 1557, in this same year, Chester Herald and Portcullis Pursuivant, had blue guarded with red, being then appointed to attend upon the Earl of Pembroke, Captain-General of the army against France.[1]

Philip prepared for the campaign at Brussels; he had collected a large army, which he placed under the command of Philibert, Duke of Savoy, this was to be joined by the English contingent. Philibert, after having succeeded in distracting the attention of the enemy, and leading them to expect him in Champagne, turned suddenly into Picardy, and invested the town of St. Quentin. The French, under the Constable Montmorency,

[1] Anstis *Order of the Garter*, vol. i, p. 446.

were taken at a disadvantage; before they could recover themselves their defeat had become irretrievable. The Constable himself, the Duke of Montpensier, several hundred gentlemen—some of the best blood of France—and thousands of soldiers, were taken in a victory almost bloodless for the victors. The English do not seem to have taken any part in the battle, they only arrived in force two days after the engagement. They now eagerly coveted the opportunity for distinction which had been denied them at the battle of St. Quentin, but there was little more to be done than to share, with the allied armies, the sack and pillage of the place, which was defended by the brave Admiral Coligny.

Montmorency was a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards: on the king's arrival at the camp after the battle, the Duke of Savoy laid at his feet the banners and other trophies of the fight. It is probable that the several fine suites of armour taken from the Constable Montmorency, the Duke of Montpensier, and others, now placed in the entrance-hall of Wilton House, as tokens of the battle of St. Quentin (see p. 13), were then given.

In truth the English gained but little honour in this war, and the Pembrokes have more reason to be proud of the association of the name of St. Quentin with their family through the Parr descent, than from any glory acquired at the battle of St. Quentin. Pembroke was on this occasion accompanied by his eldest son, and attended by one Richard Hurleston, who, as we learn from Strype, was a man of strong Protestant tendencies, servant first to Sir Thomas Seymour, afterwards Lord High Admiral —serving him in the place of a gentleman—and subsequently, in a similar capacity, the Earl of Pembroke, at St. Quentin. "And from thence was sent with the charge and government of the Lord Herbert (son and heir of the

said Earl) to Doway, where they remained, till the lord his father came thither. And so they went home, and then he (Hurleston) went into his own country, where he remained till the death of Queen Mary."[1] Sir George Penruddocke, ancestor of the Penruddockes of Compton, was also present in this campaign, as standard-bearer to the Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards attended his funeral in a similar capacity.

The French had not long to wait for retaliation. Mary had again fallen into a morbid state of ill-health, and the English garrisons on French soil were still in a deplorably weak state. The arrival of the army under Pembroke, a few months before, had removed the immediate ground for alarm, and after the defeat of the French the danger was supposed to be over altogether. Guise, however, made a vigorous attack, and no reinforcements being sent in time, Calais fell into the hands of the French in January, 1558. This blow, in her then state of health, proved fatal to the queen; she died in November of this year.

The Lady Elizabeth was at her seat at Hatfield, when Queen Mary died; thither some great personages forthwith repaired to her, namely the Earl of Pembroke, Clinton, Arundell, Cecil, and others, where they sat in this, her first Privy Council. On the 23rd November she removed towards London, attended by a thousand or more lords, knights, gentlemen, ladies, &c. Lord Pembroke carried the queen's sword in the procession. One of the

[1] This connection seems to have continued. In a letter from Chester, dated December 20th, 1567, from Richard Hurleston to the Earl of Pembroke, he "gives intelligence by good information, of great preparations making by the King of Spain for the invasion of England. Certain gentlemen in Lancashire have taken a solemn oath not to come to the communion, and they rejoice greatly at the report of a Spanish invasion." *State Papers, Domestic,* 1567.

first acts of Elizabeth was her direction to a body of divines to revise the prayer book, and take from it that sectarian character which, in its latest form, it had assumed. Pembroke and others, with Cecil at their head, formed a committee of council to consult privately with the queen.

The accession of Elizabeth was welcomed by all parties, and for a time, at least, her popularity was unbounded. On April 25th, 1559 :—

"The queen in the afternoon went to Baynard's Castle, the Earl of Pembroke's place, and supped with him, and after supper she took a boat and was rowed up and down the river Thames, hundreds of boats and barges rowing about her, and thousands of people thronging at the waterside to look upon her majesty, rejoicing to see her, and partaking of the music and sights in the Thames, for the trumpets blew, drums beat, flutes played, guns were discharged, squibs hurled up into the air as the queen moved from place to place. And this continued till ten of the clock at night, when the queen departed home".[1]

At this time it was customary for her Majesty to give and receive presents from her nobility on New Year's Day. On the 1st January, 1561-2, the Earl of Pembroke offered a purse of black silk and silver knit, with £30 in new angells. In return he received "oone guilte bolle or spice plate with a cover, given to the Queen her Majestie by Mr. John Astley, Master and Treasurer of her Jewels and Plate, 31 oz.; and one guilt cup with a cover 18½ oz". This bowl, presented by Astley, is mentioned as "given to the Earl of Pembroke eodem die". At the same time the Countess of Pembroke offered "a cherry bag of crymson satten with £15 in new angells;" and received from the Queen, "oone guilt cup with a cover 27¼ oz."[2]

[1] Strype's *Annals.*

[2] Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,* vol. i, p. 108.

In the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, Pembroke seems to have acted a good deal with Cecil, with whom he held strong views in favour of reformation in religion. When the Queen sent Cecil to Scotland, in May, 1560, to make a treaty of peace with the French, he went unwillingly, not knowing what influences might be brought to bear on Elizabeth during his absence. Sir Henry Killigrew writes, "Pembroke, Clinton, and Norfolk were true to him, but other friends had he none; I know that none can love their country better than Mr. Cecil: I would the Queen's Majesty could love it so well". The treaty having been signed, Lord Clinton writes to Cecil, that "no better service had ever been done to England; Lord Pembroke is your very good friend. Touching the matter of Scotland, he remaineth firm and sure as in the beginning without change or alteration, and hath hitherto stayed his going from the Court until he might hear of a final order of the matter of your Commissioner, which now he heareth to be such as is much to his contentation". At the foot of the letter Pembroke adds his signature to that of Clinton, who must have shewn Pembroke what he had written. The Scots were anxious to supplement this treaty by inducing Elizabeth to marry the Earl of Arran, and so counteract the French Catholic interest centred in Mary Stuart; the Commissioners sent from Scotland for this purpose were entertained with marked hospitality by Pembroke and Bedford, who, with all their friends, looked on this proposed marriage as a necessity.

Pembroke himself was laid up with a serious illness at this time. In June 1560, Lord Robert Dudley writes to the Earl of Essex to that effect, "The Erle of Pembroke is at Hendon, and as yet dare not his physicians assure his recovery."

During the summer of 1561, the Irish, with Shan

O'Neil at their head, worsted the English forces under Sussex. To such an extent was intrigue and faction rife at the court of Elizabeth at this time, that Cecil declared that Lord Pembroke seemed to be the only nobleman whose patriotism could be depended on; and in Pembroke's absence there was not a person—"no," Cecil reiterated, "not one, who did not either wish so well to Shan O'Neil, or so ill to the Earl of Sussex, as rather to welcome the news than regret the English loss."

Soon after this Cecil was out of favour with the queen, and proposed to retire from the public service; in this he was joined by Pembroke, the cause being, the expectation that Elizabeth would marry Lord Robert Dudley. The queen was then believed to be so infatuated, that a powerful party was moving to prevent it. The secret mover was supposed to have been Cecil, he fearing that Elizabeth was about to abandon the Reformation. As long as the queen remained unmarried the question of the succession was always uppermost, each faction had an eye to a possible candidate. The Spanish ambassador had been coquetting with Katharine Grey for a husband in the interest of Spain.

At this time we find the following passage in a letter from Sir Henry Neville to Throckmorton, the queen's ambassador at Paris, dated June 28th, 1561, "*My Lord of Pembrok cannot yeat bryng hys purpos to passe, for my lady Cateryn wyll not have his son,* and whatsoever ys the cawse I know not, but the Quen ys entryd in to a great mislyking w^t^ her . . . for that I am goyng into Wylsher, I do as well aquyt you for wrytyng as my self tyl my retorn."[1]

There can be little doubt that this refers to Lady

[1] *State Papers, Foreign,* Elizabeth, 1561-1562, No. 272.

Katharine Grey, whose sudden marriage to Pembroke's eldest son, and its equally sudden repudiation, about the time of King Edward's death, has already been referred to. The Lady Katharine had some months previously been married secretly to Lord Hertford; the cause of the queen's misliking her was soon made known. John Somer writes to Throckmorton, "On Sept. 26, the Lady Catharine was brought abed in the Tower, of a boy. Lord Hertford and she agree upon the time, place, and company of their marriage, but cannot bring either witness or minister. They must either find out the minister, or determine what the law will say, if it be a marriage or no. The matter lies chiefly, notwithstanding all determination, in the queen's mercy."[1] Some persons of high rank were suspected to have been concerned in the disposal of the hand of the Lady Katharine; for if the queen married Lord Robert Dudley, as was feared, a revolution was expected to follow, and she would form the nucleus of a new party. A single glance below the surface when the explosion came, satisfied Elizabeth that it was dangerous to look further. The queen wreaked her anger on the unlucky pair who had offended her; they were kept for many years in the Tower, but their treatment there was not so harsh as has been generally supposed, as we learn fron the interesting account of their lives in Canon Jackson's paper on *Wulfhall and the Seymours*, already mentioned [p. 61].

It seems incredible that Pembroke should have contemplated renewing the marriage of his son with Lady Katharine Grey; it is just possible that the passage in the letter might refer to some proposal of a projected marriage which actually took place some eighteen months after, between his son, Lord Herbert, and Lady Kath-

[1] *State Papers, Foreign,* Elizabeth, 1561-1562, No. 540.

arine Talbot, as appears from a letter, dated February 1563, from Sir John Mason to Sir Thomas Chaloner, "The Earle of Shrewsburie's sonne and heyre hath marryed with the Earle of Pembrook's daughter, and the Earle of Pembrook's sonne and heyre hath married with the Earle of Shrewsburie's daughter." This double marriage took place at Baynard's Castle. Machin, in his diary, says that there was afterwards as great a dinner as had ever been seen, and this was continued for four days, and every night there were great mummeries and masques. This was Francis Talbot, son and heir of George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, who married Anne, the only daughter of Lord Pembroke, and died in his father's lifetime. Lord Herbert's married life with the Lady Katharine Talbot[1] was of short duration; he afterwards espoused Mary Sidney. This was not the first connection of the Herberts with the Talbots; Lord Pembroke himself, after the death of his first wife, Anne Parr, had married Anne, daughter of George, the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, widow of Peter Compton, ancestor of the present Northampton family. Of this marriage there was no issue; this lady lived till 1588, and was buried at Erith, in Kent.

It was not only in military affairs that Pembroke was employed by the queen. After the fall of Calais great

[1] On the occasion of Lady Katherine Talbot's marriage, her father enforced the ancient feudal right of receiving a benevolence from his tenants as *ayde pour fille marier*. See a letter of his on the subject, dated from Coldharbour, March 1562-3, in Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, i. 348; followed by an account of the sums collected in the counties of York, Nottingham, and Derby, which amounted to £321 7s. 6d. This was one of the many services anciently exacted from tenants in capite; it could only be claimed on the marriage of the eldest daughter of the lord, in like manner as the *ayde pour filz Chevalier* was on the kinghthood of the eldest son. These tenures were abolished by the Act, 12th Charles II.

distress was prevalent amongst the merchant staplers, petitions for relief were sent to the Government, and these were referred to the Earl of Pembroke, to report upon. He was also, with many others, interested in the commercial ventures of this period; the command of the sea, and the restless spirit of adventure abroad, was beginning to lay the foundation of the commercial prosperity of England. In March 1563, a warrant was issued for the delivery of the ship *Jesus* of Lubeck, lent by the queen to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Dudley, and others, for a voyage. In October 1565, certificates are granted by officers of the Admiralty for allowing the acceptance of £500 for the use of the ship *Jesus*, now returned, which had been granted to the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, for a voyage to the coasts of Africa and America.

About this time Pembroke's health began again to fail, in September, 1564. Clough, in a letter to Chaloner, says, "The Earl of Pembroke lies at God's mercy". And again, in a letter written to Leicester and Cecil, from Basingstoke, he alludes to his own ill health. In the summer of 1567, the distress among the manufacturers of the Low Countries was so great that they applied to Pembroke and Cecil in their extremity, and several manufactures were introduced into this country. There is a tradition that carpet weaving was established at Wilton by one of the Earls of Pembroke. If there is any truth in the tradition, it might have taken place at this time. There are many letters preserved in the State Paper Office, of this period, which prove the commercial activity prevalent amongst all classes. In one, dated 1565, Mr. Daniel Hechstetter makes offers touching his suit and petition for privileges of water-works, for draining mines, &c., to form a company for the same, and to give certain shares to the

Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, Sir William Cecil, and others. In the following year a letter is written by the same noblemen to the Merchant Adventurers, requesting they will promote the lottery established in London by the queen's proclamation, by adventuring for their company in general, and themselves individually. The increase of communication with foreign countries also told on works of art introduced into England. In February, 1567, one Dominicque Troisrieux, a Frenchman, brought certain works of marble jasper into England, for Sir William Cecil and the Earl of Pembroke. They do not seem to have been works of high art, but are described as "one door of marble jasper, one other of white marble, eight great tables, &c."[1] Frenchmen seem to have had the same difficulty in those days of writing English proper names, as they have in our own times; in the original document my Lord Pembroke's name appears under the guise of "millort penbrout".

The year 1569 was an unquiet time for Pembroke. He, with a majority of the Lords, was restless under the ascendancy of Cecil, believing the country to be in a critical state, and not a little danger to be apprehended from the conflicting schemes in favour of Mary Stuart. He took an active part in the plot for making a match between Norfolk and the captive Queen of Scots, in which he was joined by Leicester and Arundell. This was done secretly, and on Pembroke's part in perfectly good faith, but Elizabeth had already got the threads of the conspiracy into her own hands, and Leicester hastened to purchase forgiveness by abandoning his colleagues; Norfolk was sent to the Tower, Pembroke was, for a time, under arrest at Windsor, and he was ordered to forbear coming to

[1] *State Papers, Domestic,* Elizabeth, 1567, vol. xlii, No. 19.

Court. An examination of the noblemen implicated was undertaken by the remaining members of the Council, the full particulars of which are preserved in the Burghley papers. Pembroke avowed his desire for the Norfolk marriage, and did not shrink in any way from the responsibility of having advised it. So far as the Lords had acted together, they had done nothing which could be termed disloyal, and Pembroke, both with dignity and success, defended the integrity of his own intentions.

Later in the year a serious attempt was made at an insurrection in the North of England, by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the intention of releasing the Queen of Scots; this made it necessary to raise a southern force without delay.

At this time Pembroke, as Lord Steward, wrote a letter to the queen, vindicating his loyalty, "From my poore Howse at Wilton, the 5th December, 1569." After complaining "how my Name is moast falselye and wickedly abused by the wicked Protestation of those two traiterous Erles", he goes on to say:—

"I have according to your Majesties Commandment, in parte answered the Matter by my Letters to my Lords of the Counsill. But in fuller satisfaction thereof, I do reverently before God, and humbly before your Majestie protest, that in all my Lief I was never privey to somuche as a Mocion of any Attempt, either of these banckerupt Erles, or of anie Mans ells, against either Religion (in defence whereof onelye I am redie to spill my blood) or yet your Majesties Estate or Person; and that I am ready against them and all Traitors to make good with my Bodie, when and howsoever it shall please your Majestie to commande: For God forbid that I shoulde lieve the Houre, now in myne olde Age, to staine my former Lief with a Spott of Disloyaltie." [1]

With graceful confidence the queen accepted his offer, and named him at once general of an army of reserve. The insurrection, however, failed, and Pembroke's

[1] Haynes' *State Papers*, p. 568.

services were not required. This was the last public act of his life. His end was now approaching; "life's fitful fever o'er", he was no longer concerned in the plots and counter-plots which still continued to harass the queen's Government. He died at Hampton Court, on March 17th, 1570, and thus closed his eventful and restless career at the age of sixty-three.

He was engaged to the last in the political complications of that feverish period. Camden, speaking of his death, says:—

"Presaging some disaster to himself he departed this life in his climacterical year. An excellent man, who was in a manner the Raiser of his own Fortunes. Under Queen Elizabeth he was made Great Master of the Household; whose Favour he lost, for a time for that (though with no ill Meaning nor bad Intent) he was a great fartherer of Norfolk's Marriage with the Queen of Scots: and he missed but little of having been proscribed after he was dead, by means of certain matters then brought to light, and some strong Presumptions against him."[1]

In a gossipping letter from Sir F. Englefield to the Duchess of Feria, dated from Louvain, April, 1570, he says:—

"Lord Pembroke is dead in Court; a great loss to many, and a gain to some; all of the faction of Lord Hertford's children triumph at his death. The Queen of Scots, Duke of Norfolk, and Earl of Leicester, have lost much thereby."

Aubrey's statement that "he could neither read nor write, but had a stamp for his name", could hardly have been correct. It was not uncommon at that period for letters to be written by secretaries, and the documents signed only by the sender; the correspondence carried on by Pembroke must have been very considerable, it will be seen that two secretaries attended his funeral. That "he was of good naturall parts, but very colorique" is probably

[1] "Camden's *History of Elizabeth*, book ii.

true enough. The long examination of Sir William Herbert, on the articles touching Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, during his many visits to that prelate in the Tower, shows that his power of argument, and aptitude for business were of no mean order.

Pembroke did not escape in his own day the charge of being a temporiser. Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, in his *Treatise of Politic Power*, probably alludes to him and some others as being notable examples. That he was in some matters unscrupulous, and that he benefited largely by the opportunities offered of the constant confiscations of both ecclesiastical and civil property, is well known; but in this he did little more than his contemporaries; he must be judged by the standard of his day, rather than by that of our own. The enormous political changes which took place in England during the period of Pembroke's life were not worked out without great difficulties and perplexities at the time; we now see the results; but "if the results were inevitable, the characters which assisted to produce those results were inevitable also". Undoubtedly the revolutions of these eventful reigns were productive to him of continued accession of power and wealth, for his peculiar characteristic was pliancy.

Of Pembroke's personal appearance, Aubrey says, "he was strong sett, but bony, reddish favoured, of a sharpe eie, sterne looke". There are several portraits of him extant, the best authenticated is a silver medallion, dated 1562, at the age of fifty-six. It is by Stephens, of Holland, who was an excellent medallist as well as painter of portraits, and is reproduced in facsimile at page 41. The subject on the reverse, with the inscription, DRACO HIC VERUS VIRTUTUM CUSTOS—*This dragon the true guardian of the virtues*—is probably only a complimentary allusion to Pembroke, whose badge was a *dragon*. A full-length portrait of him,

accompanied by a dog, is now in the library at Wilton House, this is said to be by Holbein, but is not considered so by Dr. Waagen; it was probably painted several years later. Of this picture Aubrey says:—

"Mem: This Wm. (the founder of his family) had a little cur-dog which loved him, and the E. loved the dog; when the Earle dyed the dog would not goe from his masters dead body, but pined away, and dyed under the hearse; the picture of which dog is under his picture in the Gallery at Wilton."

There is a well-engraved portrait of him in Holland's *Heroologia*, published in 1620, which was probably taken from the preceding picture. A full-length figure of Pembroke is included in the large picture of Edward VI presenting a charter to Bridewell Hospital; this too has been ascribed to Holbein, by Vertue, but without any truth, as Holbein died several years before the accession of Edward VI. It is believed to have been painted by an artist named Streetes. Another three-quarter painting of him, in his declining years, belonging to the Countess Delawarr, was exhibited at the National Portrait Exhibition, in 1866, incorrectly described in the catalogue as being that of William, the *third* earl. Besides these, his kneeling figure, clad in armour, and wearing the blue mantle and badge of the order of the Garter, accompanied by his two sons, appears in the stained glass window in Wilton Church, but, as the faces are restorations, their authenticity is lost.[1]

[1] There seems at one time to have existed a large allegorical picture in which a full-length portrait of Pembroke was painted, together with other figures. It is mentioned by Aubrey, in his account of the pictures at Wilton, as having been once there, "Here was the Table of Cebes, a very large picture, and done by a great master, which the genius describes to William, the first earl of his family, and lookes on him, pointing to Avarice as to be avoyded by a noble person". *Natural History of Wilts*, part ii, chap. ii. It is noticed again by Gambarini, of Lucca, in his *Description of the Pem-*

His last will and testament bears date December 28th, 1569, whereby he orders his body to be buried in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, where Anne, his late wife, lieth interred, if so be he died in or near London; but if he died at Salisbury, his body to be buried in the Cathedral there, with such funeral solemnity as to his estate and calling appertaineth; and directs his executors to bestow yearly, for the space of two years next after his death, £200 to the poor in Baynard castleward in London, Salisbury in Wilts, and Hendon.[1] He bequeaths to his daughter, Anne Talbot, 500 marks in money and jewels, having by assurances and conveyances already advanced her to marriage with the Lord Talbot; and constitutes Henry Lord Herbert, his son, sole executor, charging him to have due consideration to the rest of his children, friends, and servants. He bequeaths to his son Edward, plate to the value of 500 marks; and appoints over his will, his very good lords and friends, Robert, Earl of Leicester, Master of the Queen's Majesty's Horses, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, knights, and Gilbert Gerrard, Esq., the Attorney-General, and to every of them £50, to be delivered either in money, plate, or jewels, within one month.

And by a codicil it is mentioned that he declared to the Earl of Leicester, and to his son, Edward Herbert, March 16th, 1569, late at night (which was just before his death), that the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir James Crofts, and Mr. Secretary Cecil, be joined to his overseers

broke Pictures, 1731, "There is one remarkable at London, sixteen foot long, and nine foot broad, by H. Goltzius, the Table of Cebes of Virtues and Vices, the six figures at bottom are as big as life, one of them is with the Order of the Garter."

[1] The grant of Hendon, in Middlesex, to Lord Pembroke, is dated April 9th, 4 Edward VI [1549-50]. It passed to his second son, Sir Edward Herbert, ancestor of the Marquesses of Powis, extinct in 1747. The property was sold soon after this date.

and have the same gifts. He also bequeathed to the Queen's majesty his best jewel, named the Great Ballace, and his fairest and richest bed; and to the Lord Marquis of Northampton his second-best gold sword, and to the Earl of Leicester his best gold sword.

A few days after his death the following letter from the Queen was sent to Lady Pembroke; the rough draft is in the bold handwriting of Cecil, by whom it had been carefully amended and corrected:—[1]

"To ye Countess of Penbrook.

"We grete you well. Althovgh it be grevoos to Vs and most of all vncomfortable to you, to enter into ye memorye of ye loss of so deare and loving a Counsellor to Vs, so honorable a husband to you as our late Coosyn ye Erle of Penbrook was, yet can We not omytt to call to memory his wordyness many wayes whylest he lyved, and his constancy at ye tyme of his deth towardes Almighty God, wherat, as we ar comforted considerynge by Godes ordinance he hath bene called at this tyme and many yeres long passed, so also We require you to moderat your gret sorrow wch We vndoutedly here you do conceave for his deth, wt the lyke consideration of his wordyness whylest he lyved, and of his christian and godly behaviour whan he dyed, being the only thynges that he cold leave behynd hym of most and trewest vallew to comfort them that loved hym. And if you had not now sent on hyther to Vs, We wer determined to have sent one of Our servantes to you wt Our letters to this intent; meaning specially also to have gyven you knolledg how honorably and lovyngly Our Cosyn ye Erle your sonne in law doth offer hymself in all thynges towardes you, expressly sayeng to Vs yt there shall no worldly thyng left to hym by his father move hym to neglect your good will, but yt he will by all manner of meanes labor to kepe you his good mothar as if you wer so to hym by natvre: and surely We are fully so perswaded of hym, not only by his owne speche, but ye assurance We conceave of his good natvre, so as We trust ther shall never be any occasion gyven for any other to deale in ye matters betwixt you. But if there shuld be any nede thereof, We wold have you Madame make your assured accompt yt you shall fynd Vs not only, as by Godes callyng We ar, ye protectrix of wydows, but besyde that you shall fynd Vs a deare and lovying Lady and sister to you in all your resonable casees."

[1] *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, vol. lxvii, No. 28.

Endorsed: "M. xxij Martij 1569
from the Q Ma'tie to
the Countesse of Penbroke."

Lord Pembroke filled the office of Lord Steward of the Household at the time of his death. He was buried with great state and ceremony in old St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 18th April, 1570. As will be seen from the order of proceeding, his funeral was attended by all the principal members of the Government, as well as by the numerous officers of his own household.

A magnificent monument was erected to him and his first wife, on the north side of the quire; this was subsequently destroyed in the disastrous fire of London, but the details are preserved by an engraving in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral.*

"An ordre of Proceedinge at the funerall of the late Right Honorable William Erle of Penbrooke one tuisdaye the xviijth daye of Aprill 1570.[1]

First ij yeomen Conductores withe blacke staves .. .. .. } viz. { George Hale / Robert Hall

The poore men ij and ij .. .. C.

The Quyre of Pawles

The Precher .. .. .. viz. Mr. Nowell, Deane of Pawles

The Standart bearer withe whoode one his head .. .. .. } viz. Mr. William Morgan, of Pencoyde

The Defunctes gentlemen withe hoodes one their heades ij and ij

The ij Secretaryes, viz. { William Jordane / Phillippe Williams

All Esquyres and Knightes ij and ij

The Defunctes ij chaplaynes

The Bishope of London[2]

The Defunctes iij cheif officers withe ther whyte staves and hoodes one their shoulders { Mr. Higate *Stuard* / Mr. Vaughan *Threasorer* / Mr. Grove *Comptroller*

The banner bearer with his hoode one his head, viz., Sr George Penruddocke knight.

Yorke Herauld with the Defunctes coat Armour careing his heaulme and creaste.

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic,* Elizabeth, vol. lxvii, No. 64.

[2] Edmund Grindall.

Chester Herauld to carye the Targe of his Armes
Richmond Herauld to carye his sworde

Garter Kinge of Armes to carye his coat of Armes one either syde of him a gentleman Vssher withe whyte roddes with thar hoodes one their heades, one of theim hauinge the Defunctes whyte staffe in a case of leather — viz. Roger Earthe[1] and William Aluier

The Corpes caryed bye viij gentlemen with ther hoodes on their heades — viz.
- Richard Souche
- Myles Mathewe
- Dauid Moryce
- Thomas Williams of Trickeleake
- Richard Badger
- Anthony Stylman
- Thomas Scudemore
- James Baskervyle

To theire viij yeomen assistantes — viz.
- John ap Watkynes
- Edward Williams
- Thomas Jones
- Francklyne of Cannones
- Richard Francklyne
- Alexander the rannger
- John Thurchwarde
- Thomas Browne

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[1] "Roger Erthe, *alias* King, Servaunt to Th'erle of Penbroke, and William Ferror, Servaunt to the Lord Sturton, were, for making a Fraye, committed to the Charge of the Warden of the Fleete." (Haynes' *Burghley Papers*, Queen Mary, 19 August 1553, p. 171.)

This Roger Earth was probably of Dinton. A short pedigree of Earth, showing a connection with Dinton for at least two generations, is given in the Herald's Visitation of Wilts, taken A.D. 1623. In the chancel of Dinton Church is the following curious epitaph on a brass:—

"From Earth wee came, to Earth wee mvst retvrne;
Wittnes this *Earth* that lyes within this vrne;
Begott by *Earth*, borne also of *Earth's* wombe;
74 yeares liv'd *Earth*, now Earth's his Tombe,
In Earth, *Earth's* body lyes vnder this stone,
Bvt from this Earth to Heaven *Earth's* soule is gone.
Roger Earth armiger obiit 8° die Aprilis, 1634."

The person commemorated in the above lines must have been ten years of age at the time of Lord Pembroke's death.

Fower assistantes to the bodye with ther hoodes one their heades — viz. Mr. Roger Mannors; Sir Henry Compton[1]; Sir John Parrot; Sir George Speake — Knightes

iiij Esquyeres to carye the iiij bannerolles about the bodye withe ther hoodes one their heades — viz. Mr. Henneage; Mr. Cary; Mr. Dyer; Mr. Hatton — Esquyres

Cheif mourner .. .. .. Henrye, Erle of Penbrooke

Two gentlemen Vsshers one eche syde of him with whyte roddes in ther handes and hoodes one ther heades — viz. William Herbert; Henry Morgan

The gentlemen of his horsse to cary his Trayne .. .. William Jones

viij mourners assistantes ij and ij with their hoodes one their heads to and fro — viz. The Lord Keper[2] and The Erle of Leicester (ij); Mr. Edward Herbert[3] and Mr. Comptroller[4] (ij); Sr William Cicill and Sr Walter Myldemay (ij); Sr Nicholas Throckmorton and Mr. Gerard, attorney generall (ij) — Overseers

Six noble men with ther rolles .. my Lord Admirall[5]; my Lord Chamberlayne[6]; my Lord Talbot; my Lord Cobham; my Lord Grey of Wilton; my Lord Buckherst

Three knightes with their hoodes one their shoulders .. .. Sr Francis Knolles; Sr Ralf Sadler; Sr William Cordall

Two yeoman Vsshers with whyte roddes to goe before the Defunctes yeomen — viz. Richard Boothe; John Maynard

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[1] Sir Henry Compton was a son of Lady Pembroke, by her first husband, Peter Compton, of Compton Wynyate, co. Warwick.

[2] Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first Lord Keeper that took the name of Lord Chancellor.

[3] Lord Pembroke's second son.

[4] Sir James Crofts.

[5] Edward, Lord Clinton; afterwards Earl of Lincoln.

[6] Lord Howard of Effingham.

The Defunctes yeomen ij and ij.

The seruantes of other noble men and gentlemen mourners ij and ij.

The Proceedinge to the offringe as heerafter folowith :—

First the cheif mourner, his trayne borne, and all the rest of the mourners to folowe and none to offerre but he and the officers of Armes before him.

Then the chief mourner to goe vpp alone, and to offerre for himself, and ther to remayne vntill all the hatchements be offred, whiche he shall receyue and delyuer to Yorke Herauld, who shall set theim one the communion boord : then he to be brought downe agayne to his place.

Then the hatchements to be offred as folowith, and at all tymes . . . Herauld before theim.

First my Lord Keper The Erle of Leicester	offred the Coat of Armes
Then Mr. Edward Herbert and Sr James Crofte	offred the sword
Then Sr William Cicill and Sr Walter Myldemay	offred the Targe
Sr Nicholas Throckmorton Mr. Gerard, attorney generall	offred the heaulme and creast

Then the viij mourners to offerre for theime selfes as folowith ij and ij

First the Lorde Keper The Erle of Leicester	Garter Kinge of Armes before theim
Mr. Comptroller Mr. Edward Herbert	Richemond Herauld before theim
Sr William Cicill Sr Walter Myldmay	Chester Herauld before theim
Sr Nicho. Throckmorton Mr. Gerard, attorney general	Richemond Herauld before theim

Then the iiij assistantes ; Yorke Herauld before them

Then the noble men in blackes ioyntly togither; Richemond Herauld befor theim.

Then the Steward, Threasorer, and comptroller; Chester Herauld before theim

Then the Knightes, Master Coferer, and Clerkes of the greene clothe, and all other Esquyres and gentlemen to folowe theime ioyntly ij and ij ; Richemond Herauld before

Then the banner[1] of his armes Then the Standert	A Herauld before either of theim

[1] The *Banner* was originally oblong in form, that is, about twice the depth of its width, thus corresponding to the early fashion of the

Then all other gentlemen having no blackes that will offere.

Then the offringe donn and a certayne collect readde all the cheif mourners and noble men departed leauinge the officers and assistantes to see the body buryed. Which officers did putt the Defunctes staffe into the graue and brake eche of theim ther owne staves and cast theim into the graue with him."

Endorsed:—"18 Aprill 1570, ordre of ye Erl of Penbroke's Buryall at Poules."

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shield; but latterly it grew to be nearly square. It displayed the armorial coat of its owner, spread entirely over its surface. The *Standard* was originally an ensign too large to be borne by a man into battle, it was fixed on a carriage and placed in the centre of the host, where it remained stationary, as their rallying point. In the reign of Henry VIII, the King's standard for this purpose was of less dimensions, and those of other persons were graduated according to their owner's rank, from the duke's standard of seven yards and a half in length, to the knight's of only four. Standards differed from banners, not only in form, but in not bearing the arms of their masters. Every standard and guydon was "to have in the chief the cross of Saint George; next the beast or crest, with his motto; and to be slit at the end." The standards borne at funerals were made after this model. Standards became more frequent in use than banners. They were borne by knights; but banners were confined to bannerets and persons of higher rank. The *Bannerolls* were banners of increased width, made to display impalements, representing the alliances of the ancestors of the deceased. The *Helmet* is still seen lingering in some country churches; it is seldom found to be more than a fictitious helmet, made for the purpose to which it is applied. In early times a knight's real helmet was offered. The *Target* was a shield of the arms of the defunct, the successor of the knight's real shield. (*Notes upon Funerals*, by J. Gough Nichols, F.S.A., Camden Society, vol. xlii.)

On the Architecture and Mosaics of Wilton Church[1].

In an ordinary way there would be little to connect a body of Archæologists with a newly-erected church, but in the present instance we have the type of a style of architecture seldom seen in the North of Europe, and scarcely at all in England, except in that modified form known as the Norman style, and which preceded the introduction of the pointed arch.

Accustomed as we are to the different phases of Gothic architecture—the offspring of the North—comparatively little is known of the Byzantine and Romanesque styles which are found in Southern Europe. Now as we have in Wilton Church a well developed example of the latter style, differing so materially from our Northern Gothic—although both came originally from the same source—I think it will be no loss of time if we take advantage of this building in the way of illustration of early Christian architecture, especially as it contains, besides ancient stained glass, some of the old Italian mosaics, specimens of which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find elsewhere in this country.

During the first three centuries of the Christian era, churches can scarcely be said to have existed. The ordinary places of worship of the early Christians were confined to catacombs and other secret places. During this same period the architecture of the heathen Romans had gradually deteriorated; and this followed so regular a course that when the Emperor Constantine, in the year 323, embraced the Christian faith, Roman architecture was at its worst.

An entirely new order of sacred architecture now

[1] From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1854.

arose. The Christian ceremonies required large spaces for the assemblage of the congregation at certain periods. The heathen temple was simply the shrine of the image of the Deity; the mass of worshippers assembled in front of the temples, where sacrifices were offered upon the altars in the open air.

But there was in use at Rome, at that time, another species of building whose design seemed better calculated for the exigencies of Christian worship, besides avoiding the form of the Pagan temple. This was the Hall of Justice—the Basilica. If the buildings themselves were not actually used for Christian worship, their forms and general arrangement were so well adapted to the purpose that they were imitated with little change.

These buildings were oblong, and divided by a double range of columns into a central avenue, and two lateral aisles. At the extremity was a transverse aislé or transept, containing the semi-circular recess, called the tribune or absis, with a ceiling rounded off like the head of a niche.

This part was raised a few steps above the rest of the interior; in front stood an altar, and behind it sat the judge with his councillors.

If we divest Wilton Church of the campanile or bell-tower, we have, so to speak, an ancient basilica adapted to the purpose of Christian worship. The form of the central avenue allowed it to be easily converted into the nave or ship of St. Peter, the great characteristic of a Christian church; one of the lateral aisles, as in the courts of justice, was set apart for the males, the other for the females.

The raised absis or tribune, which was peculiarly the seat of justice, became the presbytery or receptacle of the superior clergy. In its centre stood the throne of the

Bishop, who might thence, like a true Episcopus, look down upon the congregation. Between the tribune and the body of the nave was the choir, surrounded by its *cancelli* or inclosures; on either side of the choir arose the *ambones*, the pulpits from whence the epistle and gospel were respectively read. The elaborate pulpit in Wilton Church may fairly represent one of these. In later times, when altars, no longer insulated, did not permit the bishops and clergy to be seen behind them, the presbytery was removed from the absis at its back to the choir in front. All the examples and fragments of these early ritual arrangements, which still exist in the venerable church of San Clemente at Rome, and elsewhere, are of richly-worked marble, very generally adorned with mosaics, partly of glass and partly of precious marbles. The basilica, thus modified and adapted to Christian worship, contained the germ of the Ecclesiastical architecture of all Christendom.

Another style of Christian architecture, however, arose almost simultaneously with the adoption of the Basilica at Rome. The Emperor Constantine having transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium, there immediately sprung into existence a new form, which to this day is prevalent in the East.

The Eastern Christians seem to have taken the models of their churches from the great domed halls of the public baths. Instead of the long nave and transverse presbytery of the Roman basilica, four naves or pillared avenues of equal length and breadth were disposed at right angles to each other, so as to form the figure of a cross; a dome or cupola was raised in the centre, resting on four pier masses; and in the more sumptuous Byzantine churches, smaller cupolas were reared at the extremities of the four limbs of the cross.

Another peculiarity consisted in the squareness of their buildings; they did not delight in vistas, the exteriors were imposing only from the numerous domes which formed the roofs, and the multitude of curves and semi-circular arches in every direction. The capitals and columns of earlier buildings were used oftentimes with incongruous effect; and, where new capitals had to be restored, no attempt was made to copy the classic examples. They became little more than square blocks, tapered down to the shaft, and decorated with foliage in low relief, or with a sort of basket-work, peculiar to the style.

The Mosque of Santa Sophia, at Constantinople, as rebuilt by Justinian, in the sixth century, may be considered the model of Byzantine architecture. The church of San Vitale, at Ravenna, also built by that Emperor, is interesting as marking the first appearance of the Byzantine cupola in Italy; to which may be added St. Mark's, at Venice, which was mostly built by Greek architects, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

This style, under various names and modifications, has flourished to the present day, wherever the Oriental churches or Mohamedanism exist. The Arabs adopted it from the first. The Kremlin of Moscow, the Alhambra of Granada, the Saracenic remains in Sicily, and the tombs of the Memlook kings near Cairo, all claim the same unmistakeable origin. These two new Christian styles, then, which had risen at Rome and Constantinople, were each destined to a long and uncontested supremacy, respectively in the East and West, and, in their combination, to become the parents of the architecture of Lombardy, and ultimately of the Pointed or Gothic.

The influence of the Lombards in Italy, and the iconoclastic rupture of the eighth century (by which a multi-

tude of Greek artists were scattered all over the continent), gave a new impulse to Western Europe. Italy became politically independent of the Byzantine Empire, and the Church of Rome thenceforward independent of that of Constantinople. A more advanced style of architecture, with a complete and connected system of forms, soon prevailed wherever the Latin Church spread its influence, and the associated body of freemasons powerfully contributed to its diffusion over Europe. It has been called Lombardic, or, perhaps, more conveniently Romanesque, connecting the Basilica of the Western Empire with the buildings destined for the same purpose in the East; it forms a connecting link between the Classic and Gothic styles of architecture.

It retained the cupola as well as the cruciform plan of the Byzantine style, not, however, in the style of a Greek cross of four equal limbs, but by an elongation of the nave opposite the sanctuary, now distinctively called the Latin Cross. The absis or tribune is retained, but generally pierced with windows, narrow in proportion to their height, as at Wilton. The columns of the nave, round and plain; at a later date, no longer isolated, but clustered so as to form compound piers. The smaller and more ornamental are frequently polygonic, or fluted, or twisted together spirally or in zig-zags, as in the beautiful example of the cloister at Wilton, connecting the campanile with the main building. Another characteristic of the Romanesque is the use of the arched window, subdivided by a small central column into two smaller arched openings, as in the clerestory at Wilton. The capitals in general become compositions of scrolls and foliage, or combinations of animals and human beings, sometimes simply imitated from nature, in other instances monstrous and grotesque. A series of these elaborate capitals is found decorating the columns of the nave in Wilton Church.

The narthex, or portico of entrance, becomes a highly decorated canopied porch, supported by slender pillars resting on sculptured monsters; of which we have a fine example at Wilton, as well as of the usual Katharine-wheel window above, inclosed in a richly-circled rosette. The oldest Latin Churches subsequent to the basilica, generally represent in their front the figure of our Saviour, or the Virgin, or Patron Saint, in a niche or projecting canopy: at Wilton this is seen in the form of an angel giving benediction. The four figures emblematic of the Evangelists, usually disposed round this figure, are found in the frontispiece of Wilton Church, surrounding the wheel window below. I need scarcely add that the round arch is exclusively employed in pure Romanesque architecture.

The campanile or bell tower is an important adjunct to the Lombard churches, and forms a fine feature in the church at Wilton.

This Romanesque style was never entirely superseded in Italy till the revival of Classical architecture, and, generally speaking, so many schools and styles had a concurrent existence, that the data by which we judge of a building in England lose much of their certainty when here applied.

On this side of the Alps, the Romanesque is seen in most perfection at Cologne, and along the banks of the Rhine; it gradually spread over the North of Europe, undergoing serious modifications or curtailments; it reached England about the time of the Conquest, when it became what we usually term the Norman style. We have fine examples in the cathedral, and church of St. Cross at Winchester, Romsey Abbey, and at Christchurch Priory, as well as in St. John's and St. Mary's at Devizes.

The commencement of the thirteenth century brought with it a violent and remarkable change in the Ecclesias-

tical architecture of Northern Europe; the heavy ponderous forms and details of the Northern Romanesque suddenly sprung up into the light and elegant lancet, the pointed arch succeeded the round, and then took place a complete deviation from, and contrast to, the whole spirit of Christian architecture. The most remarkable point of distinction was the substitution of the vertical for the horizontal principle.

Instead of heavy massive members, square-edged projections, and the pilasters, cornices, and entablatures of the Roman style, we have elongated pillars variously clustered and combined, prolonged by corresponding mouldings along the arches, and running continuously into the vaulting; also the use of strongly-projecting buttresses, which shoot upwards and terminate in pinnacles, with a constant tendency to the predominance and prolongation of vertical lines.

The question of the causes of the transition from one of these styles to the other has been much canvassed. The origin of the pointed arch has generally been put forward as the most important branch of the enquiry; this, however, by no means embraces the whole question, for it is possible for a building to be decidedly Gothic in character, while it has scarcely a single detail which can be pronounced purely Gothic. The church of St Eustache in Paris, is an illustration of this. Besides, the pointed arch existed several centuries before Gothic architecture was known. I saw not long since in Egypt, a fully developed series of pointed arches, in a curious building at Old Cairo, called the Nilometer, probably of the ninth century; and again, the mosque of Tailoom at Cairo has completely formed pointed arches in abundance; this was built A.D. 879.

The predominance of the vertical line, then, is the

great distinguishing feature of Gothic architecture: it would be impossible to have a more apt or beautiful illustration of this principle than in the glorious exterior of the cathedral church of our own diocese.[1]

Gothic architecture seems to have required, as a condition of its existence and vitality, the principle of perpetual change. It will not be necessary to follow the different beautiful phases of this style which succeeded each other so rapidly, till, after the brief but brilliant period of the cinque-cento, it ceased altogether in the sixteenth century.

Gothic architecture never took root in Italy. Several varieties and distinct schools may be found, and capable of certain rules and arrangements, as Professor Willis has shewn; but they never seem to have succeeded wholly in throwing off the influence of classical examples. The great cathedral at Milan, magnificent as it is, will scarcely bear the test of the principles of genuine Gothic; whilst the really fine Gothic church at Assisi—that storehouse of Christian art—is known to have been built by a German, Jacopo Tedesco.

As the architecture of the early Christian churches was an adaptation of a style previously existing in ancient Rome, so too was the origin of their peculiar decoration, namely Mosaic. The tesselated pavement was popular

[1] The ground-plan of the Cathedral at Salisbury, like several of the large churches in England, is that of a Greek Cross, with double transverse arms. This is more decidedly Oriental and Byzantine than the ordinary Greek Cross of four equal limbs; it is found at Athens, and in Mount Athos, on buildings of a very remote period. Nothing analogous exists in France. M. Didron cites this fact as another proof of the existence of a certain Byzantine influence to be found in monuments in England. See *Manuel d' Iconographie Chrétienne*, pp. 371, 382; and *Christian Iconography*, p. 380 [Bohn's edition]. Similar Byzantine traditions have been traced in monuments of an earlier period in Ireland.

throughout Rome and its colonies; many fine examples have been found, and still exist in this country. At Thruxton, and at Cirencester, both on the borders of our own county, magnificent specimens have been brought to light.

From the time of Constantine down to the fourteenth century this art seems to have been practised almost entirely by the Greeks. A distinguishing feature in the churches of the Byzantine school is the profusion and splendid display they present of Mosaic work: the most gorgeous is the glass tesselation usually applied to walls and vaults; the groundwork is almost invariably of gold; figures, architectural forms, and conventional foliage, are formed of irregular pieces of glass, of all tones of colour. There are many churches in Rome, and in other parts of Italy, where these mosaics still exist in great perfection; but it is in Sicily where they are seen in still greater splendour, in the Capella Palatina at Palermo; and at Monreale, every part of the interior is coated with this magnificent decoration.

The parts, however, usually covered with this sumptous incrustation consist of the semi-dome of the apse and the adjacent walls of the sanctuary within the triumphal arch. In the middle ages, when every part of a church had a symbolic meaning, this was figurative of the transition through death from the Church militant on earth to the Church triumphant in Heaven. Here, then, was usually represented our Saviour in Glory, a colossal seated figure, giving the benediction, and surrounded by His Prophets, Apostles, and Saints.

At the commencement of the fourteenth century the rapid improvement of painting under Giotto, and the superior resources of fresco, superseded what may be called the high art of the mosaicist.

It is true we have none of this elaborate kind of

mosaic at Wilton, but there are some good specimens of the same material as applied to the decoration of ambones, columns, etc., and usually called *Opus Grecanium*. It will be found in and about the chancel, in the form of twisted marble pillars, ornamented with a spiral branch of mosaic, also some panels of the usual geometrical pattern; some smaller pillars are also used in the pulpit. It is formed of small cubes of variously-coloured and gilded "Smalto", inserted to the depth of about half-an-inch into grooves cut in white marble; these simple forms are arranged in such geometrical combination as to compose the most elaborate patterns. The modern additions will easily be distinguished from the old work; they are interesting, however, as shewing something like a revival of the art.

Nothing can exceed the beauty of this kind of decoration as seen in the rich profusion of some of the Italian churches, the most charming of all perhaps being the pillars of the cloister of St. John Lateran at Rome.

The Wilton mosaics, however, have a considerable interest from their date and history being known. They originally formed part of a shrine set up in 1256, in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome. In the course of some alterations made there during the last century, they were purchased and sent to this country by Sir W. Hamilton, and remained at Strawberry Hill till Walpole's collection was dispersed a few years since.

There exist also in Westminster Abbey some mutilated remains of a similar date and character, in the shrine of Edward the Confessor, finished in 1270, and in the tomb of Henry III, who died in 1272. Walpole supposes that these latter works in Westminster Abbey, and possibly the mosaics now at Wilton, were made by Pietro Cavallini, the well-known mosaicist and painter, and pupil of Giotto; this, however, could not have been the case, as Cavallini

was not born till 1259. The very interesting but dilapidated relics still in Westminster Abbey, were in all probability made by Italian artists.

There is still another kind of mosaic of great antiquity —the *Opus Alexandrinum*, ordinarily used for the pavement of churches, and composed solely of the three materials —porphyry, serpentine, and white or slightly coloured marble; these are embedded in grooves cut in marble slabs, allowing a white line to develope the geometrical base of the pattern.

A small but perfect example will be found in Wilton Church, of the *Opus Alexandrinum*; it has been laid down in the pavement of the entrance porch, and was brought from Italy.

A larger piece of this kind of mosaic, but of modern Italian manufacture, will be found in the pavement at the foot of the steps of the chancel, between the pulpit and the reading desk.

The use of mosaic is unquestionably one of the most beautiful, as well as the most enduring modes of church decoration. The variety of composition is endless, from the simple square and circle, to the most intricate labyrinth of interlaced work; they display almost every variety and combination of colour, from the most retiring drab or grey, to the gorgeous splendour of gold and purple.

Some very interesting Glass of several different periods will be found in Wilton Church. The windows of the central apse are mostly filled with glass of the thirteenth century; in the smaller apses are some curious pieces of the decorated, and later periods; several whole-length figures are remarkable for their good drawing, and brilliancy of colour. In the side aisle window nearest the campanile, are arranged two portions of earlier windows of good cinque-cento work.

I must now offer an apology for this imperfect treatment of a subject with which I daresay many others are more fully acquainted than myself, and add one word in honour of the founder, who has so nobly dedicated the gifts he has received, *Ad majorem Dei gloriam.*

The present Church of Wilton, the architecture and mosaics of which are here described, was commenced in 1841, and consecrated by the Bishop of the Diocese [Dr. Edward Denison] on 9th October, 1845. It was built at the expense of the Hon. Sidney Herbert [afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea] second son of the eleventh Earl of Pembroke, assisted by Lady Pembroke, his mother; the contractor's tender for the fabric alone being £30,000.

The old church of St. Mary, in North Street, having fallen into decay, the present magnificent edifice, erected on the site of an older church of St. Nicholas, was dedicated jointly to both.

Its outward form, especially in the west front, is an adaptation of that of two ancient Churches, SS. Maria and Pietro, at Toscanello, a town in the Pontifical States, supposed to have been built, the one in the early part of the eleventh, the other in that of the twelfth century. The interior of the church of S. Clemente, or any of the similar churches at Rome, may possibly have suggested much detail in the internal arrangement.

Its dimensions are:—From the western porch to chancel apse, 120 feet; width, 53 feet. The height of the campanile is 108 feet.

Besides the monuments of the Pembroke family, there is one to William Sharpe and wife (1626), and a brass to John Coffer and wife (1585); both brought from the old church.

Other objects of interest, besides the mosaics and stained glass, are the font, composed of various marbles, and brought from Italy; the Venetian alms chest, adorned with wrought iron work; and the old embroidery of the altar frontal, with figures of our Lord, and various saints.

The reading desk is composed of some finely executed Flemish carvings, representing the four Evangelists, St. John Baptist, and the good Centurion. The pulpit, of Caen stone, interlaid with marble panels and mosaic work, is supported by pillars of Spanish marble.

Over the belfry door a slab has been inserted, formerly over the south entrance of the old church, commemorating the birth and baptism of the third Earl of Pembroke, to whom Queen Elizabeth stood godmother.

A Walk from Wilton to Stonehenge.[1]

It is proposed to give in the present and a few following numbers, some little account of the past history of our own neighbourhood generally, and of Wilton in particular. It is easy enough to find printed accounts of celebrated localities, and distant places which many of us will probably never see; but it not always so easy to find some information relating to events which have passed in our own immediate neighbourhood, and in places which are perfectly well known to all of us.

An imaginary walk from Wilton to Stonehenge may be thought to be rather an unfortunate selection; for if there is one tract of country more barren than another, it is just this walk over the Plain. But in truth there will be little difficulty in showing that, so far from this being the case, there are really and truly few spots of similar size in England in which so much of varied interest may be found; of course it is not pretended that many actual visible remains are to be seen of the events of past ages, but any one who is at all acquainted with the past history of his country will here find something to mark a period in its earlier history, some relic, either actual or legendary, to connect the past with the present. For if objects themselves have disappeared, the actual formation of the country remains just as it was in the earliest times, so that the sites, at least, are to be marked, of many a stirring event of times long gone by.

It is said of the American lawyers that when they draw á conveyance of landed property they always begin at the landing of Columbus; so, too, we must go back to the very earliest period of our own history to make a

[1] From the *Wilton Parish Magazine*, March to July 1864.

beginning; and it will be well to mention here that it is proposed to take the events connected with our walk chronologically, that is in the order in which they took place, rather than as they would be brought to our recollection by the site of the ancient landmarks and objects themselves.

The earliest inhabitants of this district were probably Celts, wandering tribes, of whom little is known. They went from place to place in search of pastures for their flocks, on which they chiefly subsisted, for they were acquainted very little with agriculture. It was not till many centuries after the first arrival of their Celtic ancestors, that the Britons became acquainted with the method of manufacturing warlike implements of metal. This art, it is said, was imparted to them by the Phenicians. Though the period cannot be precisely ascertained when these enterprising sailors from the Mediterranean first traded with Britain, it was undoubted very early, since it is described by an old Greek historian [Hecatæus], who flourished three centuries before the Christian era. He says, "this island was famous for a magnificent sacred enclosure, dedicated to Apollo (the Sun), and a temple renowned for its riches, and of a circular form".

This account is the earliest record perhaps existing respecting Britain, and possibly of that remarkable structure, Stonehenge.

Here then, in Stonehenge we have a visible, tangible, and still existing monument of the most remote antiquity. We will not go so far as to say that this description of a circular temple existing three centuries before the coming of our Lord, does actually apply to Stonehenge; it might possibly refer to a still more ancient erection, that of Abury, which, though on the Wiltshire downs, is out of our beat, as well as out of sight. The fact is, nothing

positive is known either of the actual date[1] or use of Stonehenge, except that it is very old. There can be little doubt, however, that it was a temple dedicated to worship by some of our ancestors at a very remote period, long before the introduction of Christianity.

Stonehenge, then, as well as the early boundary lines of the Grimsditch, and the more important Wansdyke,[2] of which we get no trace on our route, belong to the unknown period. These dykes were probably the divisions of the country held by the early chiefs.

Although we can say nothing very certain about Stonehenge, there is another class of antiquities belonging to the earliest period that we can speak of with more confidence.

At Grovely we have distinct remains of an early British town, occupied by our ancestors some fifteen hundred or more years ago, and on the downs we have innumerable remains of their places of burial.

Grovely works, which are distinctly seen on our walk, are found on the point of a hill projecting from Grovely wood, towards the vale of the river Willy, between Wishford and Little Langford. They consist merely of slightly raised earthworks in the form of ramparts and excavations: in the course of so many ages the lines have become

[1] The investigations of Dr. Gowland, in the autumn of 1901—when the well-known "leaning-stone" was set upright—have tended to throw additional light on the date of Stonehenge. On removing the soil, a number of *stone* implements were found, with an entire absence of *metal*—pointing to the latter part of the Neolithic age, or, as Dr. Gowland puts it, at least 1800 B.C., as the approximate date of its erection. This is further borne out by the observations of Sir Norman Lockyer, and Mr. F. C. Penrose, who, by careful calculation, based upon the result caused by distance of time on its orientation, work out a nearly corresponding date of 1680 B.C., with a possible variation of 200 years on either side,

[2] As the result of an investigation in 1889, and 1891, when two sections were cut through the Wansdyke, by the late General Pitt Rivers, he assigns to it either a Roman, or post Roman origin.

faint and irregular, but they agree entirely with the description given by the Roman historian, Cæsar, of the towns in Britain. It would be a very difficult matter to ascertain the original constructors of the numerous camps and earth-works which we so frequently find on our hills, and which abound in this neighbourhood. The greater part may be attributed to the Britons, though in later times they were altered and enlarged by the Belgæ, Romans, and Saxons. But in the earthworks at Grovely no doubt we have the remains of a British town, and that of a very remote period.

As we proceed on our walk over the downs, we shall find the whole landscape studded with small mounds of earth, called barrows or tumuli; these are graves, places of British sepulture, memorials which an early age affectionately invests with a character of permanence.

The work of man indeed; but intended to be his eternal home; when after his long days of work he folds his hands and betakes himself to his rest. In all early times, to disturb these abodes was sacrilege, against which the law directed its severest censures. Accustomed to a free life amongst the beautiful features of nature, he could not be separated from them in death; nor was it till long after Christians had made him acquainted with other motives and higher hopes, till the exigencies of increasing population made new modes of disposing of the dead necessary; that regular churchyards attached to consecrated buildings became possible; and even then it was long before they became common. The custom of burying after our present fashion was not universal till the tenth century. The most ancient mode of interment appears to have been that sort of burying where the body was deposited entire; often in a contracted position, with the legs drawn up; a sort of chest of rough stones was

built up around it, and the earth piled up in the form of a circular barrow.

Subsequently, the bodies were burnt, and the ashes preserved within a cist cut in the chalk; or, as more commonly found, deposited in a funeral urn. Near the body are generally found various articles of flint and stone, such as arrow-heads and celts; hammers, and battle-axes; and at a later period, weapons and ornaments of bronze and bone, earthen cups, and beads of amber, jet, or glass; but in all cases the earth heaped over so as to form a mound. Now all these barrows which we see so thickly spread over the downs when we approach Stonehenge are of this class. There is no tract of country in England where they are more abundantly found, especially to the north of Amesbury, in the direction of Everleigh. Many of them belong to a period when Britain first finds a place in the pages of authentic history, down to the fifth and sixth centuries, and probably later, the nature of the contents indicating whether they belong to the early Britons, the Romanized Britons, or early Saxons; and of course all, or nearly all, are places of Pagan sepulture before the introduction of Christianity.

We will now briefly point out what remains of Roman occupation are to be found during our walk. The most important is Old Sarum, one of the three Roman stations mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus; this, however, had been previously held by the Britons. From the eastern portal of Old Sarum issued three well-known Roman roads, but of these we see but little. Another from the western gate took its course right across our path through Grovely and the Ridge woods, to the banks of the Severn, in Gloucestershire. This last may be distinctly seen and traced on the side of Grovely hill.

Then there is Vespasian's Camp, not far from Stone-

henge; it is just within the Park at Amesbury, and occupies the summit of an eminence; it is surrounded by a single ditch or vallum, enclosing an area of thirty-nine acres.

Another very remarkable and well-known camp is found at Yarnborough, on the downs between Langford and Shrewton, and may be distinctly seen for some miles off. It is now-a-day's, perhaps, better known as the locality of Castle Fair, and of the hundreds who assemble there every October, few probably ever give a passing thought to its ancient glories. It was undoubtedly for a long period occupied by Roman legions, and probably by a still earlier race. In its present state this earthwork consists of a double ditch, and occupies a space of nearly thirty acres. It is a remarkably fine specimen of ancient castramentation, and well deserves a visit. It would be possible to point out nearly twenty different Roman Camps during the progress of our walk, all more or less distinct. This was probably one of the last districts of Britain which was abandoned, when the Roman Emperors recalled their armies from the distant provinces, in order to protect Italy itself against the mighty hordes of Northmen who ultimately effected the overthrow of the western empire.

Not far from Stonehenge, and scarcely inferior to it in interest, is Amesbury—the burg or town of Ambrosius. We have hitherto been speaking of Pagan times before Christianity was known; we now come to that most interesting period when the first glimmerings of the gospel began to illuminate these Wiltshire Downs. Here again we have another proof of the extraordinary interest attached to this locality; for, in all probability it was from the monastery of Amesbury—the choir of Ambrosius *the centre,* from which flowed the blessings of Christianity

and civilization in the fifth century. According to the Welsh triads, Amesbury was one of the three chief perpetual choirs where the praise of God was celebrated without rest or intermission. Very little now remains to show the important part which this place once played.

In the reign of King Edgar the Anglo-Saxon, a synod was convened here to settle the disputes between the regular and secular clergy, under the direction of the celebrated Archbishop Dunstan. In 995 Elfric was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury in this town. King John conferred upon it many important privileges; and Eleanor of Bretagne was buried at her own request at Amesbury, in 1241. Another Eleanor [of Provence], wife of Henry III, took the veil here, and lived in the Abbey till her death in 1291. In fine, Amesbury was one of the most celebrated, as well as one of the richest in England of those not included in the number of the mitred Abbeys.

If we concede to Amesbury the honour of having been the first to propagate the Christian faith in this part of England, we must not forget that *the* great monastery, and royal residence of the Saxon Kings, for some centuries before the Conquest, was Wilton. Wilton (whose glory had already begun to decline before the Norman invasion) was for many a long year during the dark ages, the seat of such religious light and learning as was known in those days. A long line of nobles, and religious men and women—to say nothing of the two Wilton saints, St. Alburga and St. Edith—had lived and died here many years before a stone of the present City of Salisbury was laid. St. Edith was one of the great notabilities of this place towards the end of the tenth century. Here was her shrine, which Canute adorned with precious stones and jewels[1].

[1] Some other notes on the Abbey and Hospitals of Wilton, and Queen Elizabeth's visit to the Earl of Pembroke, which accompany

As soon as we reach the summit of the hill which divides the valley of the Willy from that of the Avon, we come in sight of the magnificent and extensive earthworks of Old Sarum. Though a spot apparently desolate, and with scarcely a vestige of human habitation, it is nevertheless a place of peculiar interest from its early historical associations. It was once a proud, populous, and flourishing city, adorned with a cathedral and other churches, and guarded by lofty bulwarks, towers, and a castle; but now it has nothing to show of human art but ditches and banks which are partly overgrown with wild brushwood, while the more level land is appropriated to corn and grass.

Tradition, and all the early accounts of the place extant, refer its foundation to the Britons, at some period prior to the Roman invasion; it was probably wrested from them during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, when his general, Vespasian, is said to have taken twenty stations. That it continued to be occupied by the Romans for a long time, and probably to the latest period of their residence in Britain, is a circumstance that may be fairly inferred from the strength and extent of the works, and from the military roads that communicated between this station and others. In the year 552 it was besieged and taken by Kenric the Second, King of Wessex. Little is known of the history of Old Sarum for the next four hundred years, except that it was a royal castle, and frequently occupied by the West Saxon monarchs. In 1003, Sweyn, King of Denmark, availing himself of the unsettled state of the Angles, conducted his army to Wilton, and having burnt and pillaged it, proceeded to Old Sarum, when that city is said to have experienced the same unhappy fate. We again learn from the Saxon

this article in the *Parish Magazine*, are here omitted—having already been printed at pp. 1-13 of the present volume.

Chronicle that William the Conqueror, after having held his court at Winchester, proceeded to Old Sarum, where all the nobles and landholders met him, and took the oath of allegiance; at this time, too, the feudal system was formally and fully established, one of the most remarkable changes which our constitution has at any time undergone.

In the reign of King Stephen, owing to some disturbance which took place between the military and the ecclesiastics, who dwelt together within the fortified ramparts of Old Sarum, the city was removed to the low ground on which the present city of Salisbury stands, and henceforth called New Sarum. In these days of sanitary improvement we can only wonder at the choice of so low and moist a spot for the new city. The ancient name given to old Sarum was Sorbio-dun—the *dry* city.

It was during the prelacy of Bishop Poore [1217-1228] that the disputes between the castellans—as the soldiers of the fortress were called—and the clergy, reached its greatest height. Holinshead, in his quaint old English, says :—

> "It happened in a rogation week that the clergy going in solemn procession a controversie fell between them about certain walks and limits which the one side claimed and the other denied. Such also was the hot entertainment on each part, that at last the castellans espying their time, gat between the clergy and the town, and so coiled them as they returned homeward that they feared any more to gang about their bounds for a year. Hereupon the people missing their bellie-chere (for they were wont to have banqueting at every station) they conceived a deadly hate against the castellans."

These acts of oppression on the part of the garrison, joined to many other difficulties which naturally attended a situation like that of Old Sarum, determined the Bishop and the Canons to get the See translated to a place of greater freedom and convenience. At this time the fine Norman Cathedral, which stood on the second ring of the

Castle, was pulled down; a good many of the sculptured stones taken from it may be seen used up in the wall which encloses the present Bishop's garden in Exeter-street, at Salisbury.

The Church was 270 feet long; the foundations and ground plan were distinctly traced a few years ago, during an unusually hot and dry summer.

On the high ground, not far from the spot where the road to Durnford crosses the main road to Devizes, is another site, of historical interest. In was one of the places appointed by Richard I for holding Tournaments. This monarch having, it is said, observed that the French, practising frequently in the tournaments, were more expert in the use of their arms than the English, permitted his own knights to establish the like martial sports in his dominions. On succeeding to the throne, in 1189, he hastened to the Holy Land to perform those exploits the splendour of which has not been dimmed by the lapse of ages. The spirit of the times, roused by the Crusades, encouraged by the example of a warlike monarch, and actuated by religious as well as martial enthusiasm, sought occupation in the exercises of chivalry, and in the pageant of the tournament, a spectacle then irresistably attractive to all ranks of people. The king appointed five places for the holding of tournaments, namely, the spot between Wilton and Old Sarum, another between Kenilworth and Warwick, besides three others.[1]

At the celebration of these pastimes, the lists were superbly decorated, and surrounded by the pavilions belonging to the champions, ornamented with their arms,

[1] These were between Stamford and Warringford, Brakely and Nixeberry, and Blye and Tykehill. The letters patent from the King, authorising his Justiciary to make arrangements for holding tournaments, bear date 22 August 1194. See Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol i, p. 65.

banners, and bannerolls. The scaffolds for the reception of the nobility of both sexes who came as spectators, and those especially appointed for royalty, were hung with tapestries and embroideries of gold and silver. Every person, upon such occasions, appeared to the greatest advantage, and for the most part, decked in sumptous array. We may also add the splendid appearance of the knights engaged in the sports; themselves and their horses were most gorgeously arrayed; and their esquires and pages, together with the minstrels, and heralds who superintended the ceremonies, were all of them clothed in costly and glittering apparel.

Such a show of pomp, where wealth, beauty, and grandeur were concentrated as it were in one focus, must altogether have formed a wonderful spectacle, and made a strong impression on the mind, which was not a little heightened by the cries of the heralds, the clangour of the trumpets, the clashing of the arms, the rushing together of the combatants, and the shouts of the beholders; and hence the popularity of these exhibitions may be easily accounted for.

Such a scene as this was enacted on this spot in the year 1194. The locality offered admirable situations for the purpose, where ample space was afforded for the lists, and where thousands might enjoy the spectacle without inconvenience or danger. Those who have been transported back in idea to the period of which we are speaking, by the vivid description of the tournament in *Ivanhoe*, can scarcely even now survey the ground without picturing to themselves the dazzling effect of such an assemblage, so varied, so interesting, and so magnificent, on the elevated and airy down in full view of the majestic fortress of Old Sarum on one hand, and Wilton with its venerable Abbey on the other, and overlooking the rich and smiling bournes

watered by the Avon, the Willy, and the Nadder. The spot must have offered a prospect, differing indeed in character, but more lovely and impressive than that assigned by Sir Walter Scott to the passage of arms at Ashby.

It is not difficult to imagine the excitement and interest which this announcement of a tournament in the year of grace 1194 must have caused in all the surrounding neighbourhood. Fancy a bright summer's morning, picture a long line of vassals and dependants of the two princely monasteries of Amesbury and Wilton hastening towards the hill; these were no doubt followed by many of the ecclesiastics, and as many of the lay brothers as could be spared. Then, from the villages far and near would come trooping up the hinds and their belongings; from Woodford, from Winterbourne, from Wishford, from Fovant, from Newton, from Wily, from Stapleford, and from countless other villages, all of which had a population little, if at all, inferior to that of our own time.

Then fancy the stately procession from the Castle itself, issuing from the great western portal, with its picturesque confusion of mailed knights and cowled ecclesiastics, with all the numberless hangers-on and retainers of the Castle. But to realise the whole thing, the passage of Sir Walter Scott's account of the Tournament, in *Ivanhoe*, should be read, merely altering the name of Prince John, to that of his brother, Richard I, and for the jolly Abbot of Jervaulx, substituting the Prior of St. John, at Wilton. This Priory was founded about this time, and still exists at Ditchampton; there is good reason for believing that it was connected with some of the crusading knights of Jerusalem, if so, we may be sure that not only the Prior, but all the half-soldier, half-priestly inmates were there also.

And what now remains of all this glittering pageant? Even the names of the great majority of the gay knights, and dames of beauty, are lost and forgotten. Their escutcheons have long mouldered from the walls of their castles. The castles themselves are but green mounds and shattered ruins; the place that once knew them knows them no more; nay, many a race since theirs has died out and been forgotten in the very land which they occupied with all the authority of feudal proprietors and feudal lords. To quote the lines of Coleridge:—

> "The knights are dust,
> And their good swords rust,
> Their souls are with the saints, we trust,"

From the spot where the tournament was held, we get a distinct view (looking over Salisbury) of the Clarendon woods, and of the site of the old King's Palace. Clarendon Park was originally a forest, and the adjoining parishes of Laverstock and Milford are described in Domesday-book as forming part of the lands in the King's forest. There is no account existing of the era in which the old Palace was built; the fragments of walls still remaining are of massive flint and cement, and indicate early work. In a military view the Castle of Old Sarum was the commanding citadel of the district; but for the pleasures of the chase—that darling pastime of our Norman kings—a lodge within the forest of Clarendon naturally became a favourite residence during the intervals of peace. In the year 1164, the memorable council or parliament was assembled here by Henry II, at which, after three days debate, those enactments were made, which were afterwards known as the "Constitutions of Clarendon." The King was present, besides the two Archbishops, twelve Bishops, and thirty-seven Barons; all named in the Constitutions.

This was one of the most prominent and stirring scenes in the long drama of the disputes between King Henry and the Archbishop Thomas à Becket, which finally proved so fatal to the prelate, and so humiliating to the monarch. This contest which Henry II had with Becket, related to the limits of ecclesiastical power; to check the growing despotism of the clergy, and to assert the supremacy of the civil power. Of all the prelates present Archbishop Becket alone openly and boldly refused to give the Constitutions the sanction of his authority, but finding the King inflexibly bent upon the attainment of his object, the proud prelate was at length induced to comply, being probably somewhat alarmed at the threatening appearance of some of the courtiers; "for," says Gervase, "armed men were running through the King's chamber, brandishing their glittering arms." No sooner, however, was the Primate advised of the Pope's determination to support the pretensions of the Church, than he obtained absolution for this act, and renewed that arrogant opposition to the King's measures, which only ended with his life, and was the indirect cause of his barbarous murder. We must not, however, forget the debt of gratitude we owe to the great primates of that period; for, whatever may have been their personal motives, they, and they alone, wrestled successfully with the despotism of the Conqueror and his descendants, maintaining among us, even in those evil days, a certain balance of power which to this day remains our inheritance.

In the reign of Richard I, and King John, this palace seems to have attained its greatest splendour. Henry III attended the dedication of the present Cathedral of Salisbury, with his court, from Clarendon, in the year 1258. The chapel of the palace was probably served by the Canons of Ivy Church, a religious establishment

founded by Henry II, it is said, for that purpose. Ivy Church (close to Alderbury) has still some fragments left of its old glory; the site can be distinctly seen on our walk.[1]

In the old halls of Clarendon, Philip, King of Navarre, rendered the first homage that was paid to Edward I, as King of France. In 1357, Edward III passed a portion of the summer here, with his two royal prisoners, John, King of France, and David, King of Scotland. After this time little is heard of Clarendon.

The commercial rivalry between Wilton and Salisbury began soon after the establishment of the new city at the latter place, during the first half of the thirteenth century. At a very early period in our history the town of Wilton had a separate jurisdiction, which was confirmed by repeated charters of liberties and immunities. The earliest charter of incorporation is that of Henry I, but it is probable that this was only a confirmation of long existing franchises. Wilton held many privileges in common with the cities of London and Winchester, such as exemption from tolls and customs, etc. It also had the right of coining money (see p. 2).

During the violent contests between Stephen and the Empress Maud, this place, from its opulence and importance, suffered much from the effects of civil dissensions. The Empress, having received homage and benediction at Winchester, proceeded thence to Wilton, where Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, came to meet her, and salute

[1] The remains of the Priory, converted into a dwelling house, long used as a boarding school, were pulled down by the late Lord Radnor in 1888—all that now exists being two Norman piers, and a later doorway of the Church. The refectory—40 ft. by 18 ft.—had on its walls frescoes of the twelve Apostles; the main timbers of the roof were used in the vestry and organ chamber of Pewsey Church.

her as Queen. So great was the multitude of people who had flocked together, that even the approach to the gates of the Abbey could not contain them. She stayed here during the festival of Easter, and then proceeded to Reading. Shortly after, in 1143, King Stephen arrived at Wilton, with his brother the bishop of Winchester, and a large force, intending to convert the monastery into a place of military defence, in order to restrain the excursions of the garrison of Salisbury, which had done much for the Empress in opposition to his interests. He does not seem to have proceeded far in his projected work, when Robert, Earl of Gloucester, hastily collecting his forces, came upon Wilton suddenly about sun-set, and set fire to the town on every side. The King, who had taken up his residence within the precincts of the monastery, and expected no danger, was so alarmed at the sudden attack, that he took to a disgraceful flight. The town and monastery must have suffered very severely from this attack; yet it flourished again in the following reign, and its privileges were an object of emulation to other towns, for the burgesses of Andover paid a certain fine into the exchequer of Henry II, in order to have the same liberty in their guild, as the men of Wilton enjoyed in theirs. King John granted a charter confirming all the ancient liberties of the town, and subsequently the King settled it in dower on Isabel of Angoulême, his queen. Notwithstanding the many marks of royal favour, Wilton gradually declined in importance as the new city of Salisbury gained strength. One cause of this decay was the establishment of a great market at the latter place.

In the reign of Edward I [1272-1307], the citizens of New Sarum complained that the bailiffs of Wilton hindered and stopped merchants who were carrying their goods on the high road towards that city, as well as to

London, and other towns, and compelled them by force and arms to bring their wares to the market of Wilton; sometimes even beating and wounding them, and taking away their property in case of refusal. A similiar complaint was made on the part of the inhabitants of Wilton. This was a constant source of dispute for many years; until the growing influence of the new city of Salisbury ultimately accelerated the decay of its more ancient neighbour, the town of Wilton, whose ecclesiastical establishments also gradually declined.

We now come down to a period of great change; the close of the fifteenth century is a striking point of view in modern history. After this time there is much less to be said in the way of stirring associations, and interesting details.

At this point mediæval history leaves off, and modern history begins. The feudal system had just passed away. Printing had been discovered. The great American continent had been brought to light. Art had attained its highest point of excellence; but above all, there was a mighty upheaving of the English mind, which finally produced the Reformation. All these things tended to make the commencement of the sixteenth century a period of remarkable change, and a new starting point in the history of our country.

We will now suppose ourselves to have accomplished our walk over the downs to Stonehenge, and will return by the valley of the Avon. At Amesbury we still find interesting associations; the poet Gay spent the happiest years of his life there; he was for a long time the guest of the Queensberry's; his hostess, the beautiful Catherine Hyde, Duchess of Queensberry, being no mean poetess herself. A summer-house in the fine hanging woods adjoining Vespasian's camp, is still pointed out as the spot where he wrote many of his poems.

In the small village of Milston, not far from this, was born Addison, one of our most celebrated writers. He was the son of the Rev. Lancelot Addison, rector of the place; in conjunction with many other wits of the day, he established the most permanent monument of his fame—*The Spectator*.

As we proceed down the valley we must not omit to see Lake-house, built in the reign of James I, a picturesque edifice, with bay windows, gables, yew hedges, and terraces; still retaining, in a great measure, its original features.

A little further on is the village of Heale. In a house now belonging to the family of Bowles, and which in former days was in possession of the Hydes, shelter was afforded to King Charles II, at a period when his escape from this country had become a necessity. The following account was drawn up by the King himself. He says:—

"After having remained some time in concealment at a house of Frank Wyndham's, I went away to a widow gentlewoman's house, one Mrs. Hyde, some four or five miles from Salisbury. I came into the house just as it was almost dark, with Robin Phillips only, not intending at first to make myself known; but just as I alighted at the door, Mrs. Hyde knew me, though she had only seen me but once in her life, and that was with the king my father, in the army when we marched by Salisbury some years before in the time of the war; but she being a discreet woman, took no notice at the time of me, I passing only for a friend of Robin Phillips's, by whose advice I went thither.

At supper there was with us Frederick Hyde, since a judge, myself, and Dr. Henchman, since Bishop of London, whom I had appointed to meet me there.

While we were at supper I observed Mrs. Hyde and her brother Frederick to look a little earnestly at me, which led me to believe they might know me. But I was not at all startled at it, it having been my purpose to let her know who I was; and accordingly after supper Mrs. Hyde came to me, and I discovered myself to her, who told me she had a very safe place to hide me in, till we knew whether

our ship was ready or no. But she said it was not safe for her to trust any person but herself and her sister; and therefore advised me to take my horse next morning, and make as if I quitted the house, and return again about night; for she would order it so that all her servants and everybody should be out of the house but herself and her sister.

So Robin Phillips and I took our horses and went as far as Stonehenge, and there we staid looking upon the stones for some time, and returned back again to Heale, about the hour she appointed when I went into the hiding hole, that was very convenient and safe, and I staid there all alone some four or five days."

A ship was soon after procured, and the king departed in safety.

At Stratford-under-the-Castle we leave the valley of the Avon. The father of the great Earl of Chatham formerly resided in an old family mansion in this parish; and the latter was first sent to Parliament from the borough of Old Sarum, in 1735.

As we cross Camp-hill on our return we just catch sight of two villages hallowed as the residence of two of our most celebrated divines of the seventeenth century. At Boscomb lived the judicious Hooker, and at Bemerton, the amiable and self-denying George Herbert.

Having now got back to Wilton again we hope we have succeeded to some extent in showing that our own neighbourhood is not so barren, and that a walk to Stonehenge is not so uninteresting and dreary as might have been imagined.

Some Account of the Objects of Interest in an Excursion from Wilton, to Fonthill and Wardour.[1]

The route lies along the valley of the Nadder, with a range of high bare chalk downs to the south. There are several relics of early British, and Roman occupation, still remaining in this district, but they will not fall within the limits of our present itinerary. The great Roman road from Old Sarum to the Severn, is to be traced along the high ground to the north, passing through Grovely Wood. Chiselbury Camp is situated near the ancient trackway between Salisbury and Shaftesbury, on a sort of promontory of the great range of chalk hills to the south, and nearly opposite to Fovant; the earthworks are still intact, and enclose an area of more than ten acres; the great strength of the position can be well understood from its commanding situation. The interesting Camp, called "Castle Ditches", lies to the right of the road between Sutton Mandeville and Swallowcliff; the greater part is now under cultivation, and the features are consequently less marked than in the earthworks on the downs. An engraved plan will be found in Sir R. C. Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire.*

During the middle ages a large part of the district, as was common at that time, belonged to some religious establishment. The first half of our route passes through a considerable portion of the lands that were granted to the Abbey of Wilton, mainly by the Saxon Kings, in the tenth century. At the dissolution of the monasteries

[1] A paper read at the annual meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society at Wilton, in 1870; being one of the excursions on that occasion. Printed for private distribution.

these passed into the possession of Sir William Herbert, the first Earl of Pembroke, in whose family they still remain. We then come upon some estates granted, at an equally early period, to the Abbess of Shaftesbury, who held property to a considerable extent in this part of Wiltshire. By successive donations the possessions of this abbey became so extensive, that Fuller, the Church Historian, records an old saying, that "if the Abbess of Shaftesbury might wed the Abbot of Glastonbury, their heir would have more lands than the King of England." The whole of this district is intimately connected with the civil wars of the seventeenth century. Not only are the descendants of Colonel John Penruddocke, and Hugh Grove, who suffered death in the King's cause, at Exeter; and of the Lady Blanche Arundell, the heroic defender of Wardour, still living here on their patrimonial estates; but the noble author of the *History of the Great Rebellion*—Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon—first saw light in this valley of the Nadder.

Soon after leaving Wilton we pass in sight of Burcomb Church, remarkable only as one of the few in this county having remains of Saxon masonry; it will be found in the south-east angle of the outer wall of the chancel; it is technically termed "long-and-short work", and may be of a date anterior to the Conquest, but this is by no means certain, for the habit of supposing that a distinct style of architecture came in with the Conquest can hardly be maintained. Our Saxon ancestors used wood very largely in all their buildings; this has necessarily decayed, and the numerous fine Romanesque remains, which we call Norman, are probably due to the rapidly advancing state of the arts in Europe at that time, rather than to any arbitary change that took place when the Norman dynasty was established. The only other

example of Saxon work in Wiltshire, as quoted by Rickman, is a round-headed doorway in Britford Church.[1] I should add that the masonry at Burcomb has lately been rebuilt, the stones having been carefully replaced in their exact original position. At Britford it is understood that the removal of the old work is contemplated, in order to make some necessary enlargements.

At Dinton the church has a good deal of architectural interest. Here was baptised, in 1609, Edward Hyde, afterwards the great Lord Clarendon; he lived for some time at Hatch House, not far from Fonthill. Here also was born, in 1596, Henry Lawes, a well-known musician, who, with other members of his family, helped to form a school of harmony for the English Church, which still holds its place amongst good ecclesiastical music. He was an intimate friend of Milton, who addressed to him a sonnet, commencing:—

> "Harry, whose tuneful and well-measured song
> First taught our English music how to span
> Words with just note."

He set to music the Masque of Comus; this exquisite production of Milton long remained anonymous; it was published by Lawes, in 1637, without the music. In his address, he states, "that although not openly acknowledged by the author, yet it is a legitimate offspring, so lovely, and so much to be desired, that the often copying it hath taxed my pen, to give my several friends satisfaction, and brought me to the necessity of producing it to the public view." It was first owned by Milton, in a letter written, in 1638, to Sir Henry Wootton; but it was not till 1645 that it appeared under his name.

At Ferne, we find ourselves in the parish of Donhead

[1] Other Wiltshire examples are now known, notably in the churches of Avebury, and Somerford Keynes.

St. Andrew; it formed part of the possessions of the Abbess of Shaftesbury. In the thirteenth century, it was held by Walter de Ferne. In 1563, it passed into the possession of William Grove, Esq., of Shaftesbury, whose son was member of Parliament for that place in the reign of William and Mary, and in whose family it has remained ever since. Another branch of the family is settled at Zeals House; this property was acquired by the marriage of a son of Hugh Grove, the royalist, with the heiress of the Chafyns. The family of the Groves came originally from Chalfont, Bucks, and have been settled in Wilts since the time of Henry VI. In the adjoining parish of Donhead St. Mary, was the residence of the descendants of Sir Godfrey Kneller, the well-known portrait painter.

After crossing the high road, we enter the finely-wooded park of Lord Arundell of Wardour; a picturesque route leads to the ruins of the old Castle. This fine example of a nobleman's castellated residence was built by John, Lord Lovel, a little before 1400,[1] and although a good deal injured during the civil wars of the seventeenth century, it still retains considerable architectural interest. The ground plan seems to have been a hexagon, with two massive square towers flanking the entrance towards the east. This part of the building remains intact as regards the walls, which are of great height and solidity. The windows of the hall form the upper story over the entrance. The interior has an open court, from which are approaches to the living-rooms and staircases; the main features of the building are easily to be traced, and the whole forms an interesting study of a large residence of the early Perpendicular period. The architectural beauty

[1] Lord Lovel obtained from the Crown the necessary license to crenellate, or fortify his building here, 16 Richard II [1392].

of the building is infinitely heightened by its being placed on a well-kept lawn, and surrounded by magnificent cedars and cypresses.

The Castle is intimately connected with the civil wars of this country. The Lovels, by whom it was built, lost Wardour, on account of their adherence to the Lancastrian cause, during the wars of the Roses. It was granted by Edward IV to John, Lord Audley, and passed into the family of the present owner in 1547, when it was purchased by Sir Thomas Arundell. The vicissitudes of the building, however, by no means ended here, the Arundell family held it for a very short time; Sir Thomas Arundell having followed the fortunes of the Duke of Somerset, forfeited his life in 1552, and his estates were confiscated. It was then granted by the Crown to the first Earl of Pembroke of the present creation, and soon after experienced a singular fate. Sir Matthew Arundell, a son of the preceding, purchased his father's inheritance of Lord Pembroke, and having thus bought the estate twice over, it has remained in possession of the Arundells ever since.[1] This Sir Matthew increased and embellished the property to a great extent, as appears by a Latin inscription over the entrance. His additions are easily to be distinguished, as they were made in the Renaissance style of the period, differing altogether from the Gothic of the original building.

During the civil war of the seventeenth century, a great and romantic interest is centred here, owing to the gallant defence of the Castle by Lady Blanche Arundell. She was the sixth of seven daughters of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, and was married, at an early age, to Thomas, second Lord Arundell of Wardour.

[1] See also pp. 59-60.

This nobleman, the heir of a warlike and noble sire, had, from the commencement of the differences between the King and the Parliament, manifested the firmest attachment to the royal cause; he raised and equipped a regiment of horse at his own expense, and when he quitted his noble seat of Wardour Castle for the camp, he exacted a promise from his wife that it should be defended against the rebels to the last extremity. On the 2nd May, 1643, whilst he was with the King at Oxford, Sir Edward Hungerford, who was much trusted by the Parliament in their military affairs in Wiltshire, demanded admittance, with some soldiers, into the castle.[1] His summons being disdainfully refused, and the Castle presenting an appearance of strength which he did not expect, he called to his aid a body of troops in the neighbourhood, under the command of Colonel Strode, which augmented his force to 1300 men. The inmates of the Castle were Lady Blanche Arundell, herself then sixty years old, the wife and children of her only son, and about fifty servants, of whom —say the accounts of that time—twenty-five were fighting men. On the following day, Hungerford brought up his cannon within musket shot of the walls, and played without intermission for six days and nights, springing two mines, the second of which, having been introduced into a vaulted passage amongst the lower apartments, shook the building to its foundations. In the meantime the little garrison defended itself with the most signal obstinacy

[1] Sir Edward Hungerford, of Corsham, K.B., born 1596, died 1648, Commander of the Commonwealth forces in Wilts. The son of Sir Anthony, of Black Bourton, by his first wife Lucy, daughter and coheiress of Sir Walter, of Farley, he was strictly the last *male* representative by *blood* of the Farley branch of the Hungerfords. His widow, Margaret, daughter of William Halliday, Alderman of London, was Foundress of the Freeschool and Almshouses at Corsham. Their tomb is in the Chapel at Farley Castle.

and valour; the men incessantly on the alert, and the women supplying them with ammunition, loading their pieces, and extinguishing the fiery missiles which the besiegers threw in abundance over the walls. At length worn out by continual watching and labour, to positive incapacity, and all hope of succour failing, Lady Arundell finally demanded a parley, and offered terms of capitulation; but not till the very moment when the enemy had applied petards to a gate, the forcing of which they who were within knew must have opened a free passage into the Castle. Such an impression of their strength and resources had been made on the besiegers that they readily acceded to the following favourable terms, namely, that the ladies and all others in the Castle should have quarter, and that the inmates should carry away all their wearing apparel, the ladies to be conducted by six of their own serving-men wheresoever the Parliament forces should send them, and lastly, that all furniture and goods in the house should be safe from plunder. These conditions, however, were disgracefully ignored. As soon as the soldiers entered, the whole Castle was plundered, and the rich furniture and hangings were wantonly destroyed. The fine trees in the park were cut down, and the deer killed. Nor was their breach of the treaty confined to this plunder and desolation. They led the ladies and children prisoners to Shaftesbury, and having kept them for some time confined there, proposed to send them to Bath, at that time afflicted with the plague. Lady Arundell, whose health was sinking under the fatigue and anxiety that she had suffered, heroically declared that they would not submit to be removed thither unless by actual force, and the rebels, fearing to make themselves unpopular by so odious a step, in a country where the objects of their persecution were exceedingly beloved, relinquished the

design. In the following July, her lord, fighting gallantly at the head of his regiment in the battle of Lansdown, was dangerously wounded, and died soon after at Oxford. Lady Arundell survived till 1649, and was buried with her husband in the adjoining church of Tisbury. There are several detailed contemporary accounts existing of this memorable siege, and especially in the interesting memoirs of Edmund Ludlow. The only portrait extant of Lady Blanche, was long preserved with great care at Wardour; the head remained in a tolerably perfect state, but the other parts were destroyed or nearly obliterated. A copy of the face was made by Angelica Kauffman, and the rest of the details of the figure forming the picture were supplied by her; it is from this source that our present knowledge of her face is derived, the small remnant of the original picture being subsequently consumed in a fire, which had nearly proved fatal to the present residence at Wardour.

From the period of the memorable siege of the Castle, to the year 1770, the family resided at a mansion adjoining. Henry, eighth Lord Arundell, then began to build the present fine structure, about a mile from the ruin. It was designed by Paine, the architect, and commands from its southern front a fine and extensive view of hill and dale. The most remarkable feature of the interior is the rotunda staircase, formed by a peristyle of fluted columns, supporting a cupola. There is a large number of oil-paintings, many of considerable interest, and among them is the portrait of Lady Blanche Arundell, to which allusion has already been made. In addition to the paintings there is a collection of artistic objects, such as miniatures, ivory carvings, crystals, and porcelain; the most noteworthy is a silver beaker coated with black enamel and painted in grisaille with a grotesque subject, its date is

late in the fifteenth century. There is also preserved here a good example of the wooden peg-tankard, traditionally said to have belonged to an Abbot of Glastonbury; it is carved with figures of the twelve apostles under an arcade of round-headed arches, and has a representation of the crucifixion on the lid. The date, however, is not much, if any, earlier than 1600. It might, perchance, have been carved out of a piece of the Glastonbury thorn, or from some fragment of the ruined abbey.

The Chapel adjoining is very rich in precious marbles, with some good paintings. Here is deposited the magnificent vestment known as the Westminster chasuble; the rich golden embroideries consist of badges of Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon, also some shields of arms of an earlier period, referring to Charles the Bold, and Margaret of York; the red velvet ground, and form of the chasuble, are modern.

We next proceed to Tisbury. This place still retains some evidences of its early history; Mr. Cunnington, the coadjutor of Sir R. C. Hoare, mentions that

> "In a field near Place Farm, was a circular earthwork, with a vallum set round with stones, which was twelve feet high, by four feet wide; a skeleton was found at the depth of eighteen inches under the surface, deposited close to the central stone".

Many of these stones are built into a rockery near Wardour Castle.

The ecclesiastical history of Tisbury is closely connected with the monastery of St. Edward at Shaftesbury; and there is good reason for supposing that a house of monks was established here early in the eighth century. In 984 King Ethelred confirmed a grant of Tisbury to the Abbess of Shaftesbury, and Place House, or the "Grange," continued to be a favourite occasional residence of the Abbess, down to the time of the dissolution of the

monastery by Henry VIII, when the manor was granted to Sir Thomas Arundell.

The present Church is of large size, and possesses some architectural interest. It consists of a nave, with side-aisles, transepts, and a large chancel. The earliest work is to be found in the central tower, transepts, and north porch; this dates from about 1200, and is an early example of the pointed style. The groined arches, forming the interior support of the tower, are of excellent work. The north porch is of the same period, having a small room over it; this is approached from the inside by a doorway under a shouldered-arch; the same application of this arch—not uncommon in the thirteenth century—is continued up the vaulting of the staircase; it is again seen in the interior of the room, over a pointed window. The north and south transepts each retain the piscina belonging to a chantry altar; the former has, in addition, a series of shallow niches, of late Perpendicular work, and a curious arrangement of a perforated niche in the centre of a triplet window, apparently meant to contain a figure over the altar. The nave and aisles are of late, and rather poor Perpendicular work; the aisles range in width with the earlier transepts, and are somewhat wider than the nave. The ceilings of one half of the north aisle, and the whole of the south, are admirable examples of rich wooden panelling, of good Gothic character, made at a period subsequent to the reformation. That in the north aisle bears the inscription

"In the yere of our Lord God 1569, this pece was set up, and in the 15th day of March ended, by Edward Boll, the prayse be unto God."

The roof of the southern aisle is of a similar character, and was probably in a measure copied from it. An inscription indicates that it was completed in 1616, the

benefactors being, amongst others, Thomas Lord Arundell, and Henry Mervyn. It is remarkable that it bears scarcely any indication of the debased style which was almost universally prevalent at that period. The chancel is large, and there is nothing in its present condition to redeem the rather bare architectural features of the building; it seems to be of the Decorated period, it has six side windows, to one of which is attached a piscina, the tracery is of somewhat inelegant character; these are traditionally said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, who was born in a neighbouring parish; if there is any truth at all in this tradition, it probably refers to the windows in the south transept. The chancel has for a long time formed the burial place of the Arundell family; the floor is covered with inscriptions, among them are those of Lady Margaret Howard, wife of Sir Thomas Arundell, and sister to the unfortunate queen of Henry VIII; Thomas, created first Lord Arundell, by James I, and Count of the Holy Roman Empire, by Rudolph II, in 1593, for his gallantry in the war against the Turks; here also rest the heroic Lady Blanche and her husband.

A brass should be noticed in memory of Lawrence Hyde, who died in 1590, it also represents effigies of his wife, six sons, and four daughters. He seems to have been the first occupier of the adjoining manor of West Hatch, under Sir Thomas Arundell. From him are descended the Hydes, Earls of Clarendon. This monument has been engraved by Mr. Kite, in his excellent work on the Wiltshire brasses.[1]

The lower half of the tower, as seen from the outside, is of good early English work, the windows are of two lights, with slight ornamentation in the heads, indicating the germ of very early tracery. Above this formerly

[1] *Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire* (1860), plate xxvi.

existed a spire; it was destroyed by lightning in 1762, and the present unsightly mass is said to have been an architectural effort of Mr. Bennett, of Pyt House, at that period. The corbels on the east side of the north transept are curious, they seem to be an adaptation of the beak-head ornament of the previous style. The large east window of the chancel has tracery of a better character than the rest, it is apparently an insertion, above it is a small niche of the Perpendicular period.

In the church-yard is the base and lower part of an early stone cross; there is also a yew tree of very great antiquity; it was mentioned by Gilpin, in the last century, as "measuring 37 feet in circumference, with limbs of proportionate size". The trunk is decayed and hollow, but from within the shell arise several more vigorous detached portions, of small diameter, which soon unite with the main wood. It is difficult to estimate the age of a yew tree; in a favourable situation it will continue to grow freely for a hundred years, after which it will become comparatively stationary, but will live for centuries.

In the adjoining hamlet of Chicksgrove, was born, in 1569, Sir John Davies, poet, and some time attorney-general of Ireland; "his wife", says Aubrey, "was a prophetesse, for which she was confined in the Tower, before the late troubles, for her predictions." This lady was Eleanor Touchet, daughter of George, Earl of Castlehaven; she was a remarkable enthusiast, and was harshly treated under the Commonwealth, for her officious prophecies.

Not far from Tisbury, are the very interesting remains of Place House, or the Grange, already mentioned as an off-shoot of Shaftesbury Abbey. They consist of the greater part of the manor house, now much altered, and

adapted to a farm-house, a perfect and very picturesque gate-house, also a fine barn and stables. The date is rather late in the fifteenth century; there is no very rich ornamentation to be found, but the whole is highly curious as showing the ordinary domestic economy of the period. The interior of the house seems to agree with the usual arrangement of a country manor house of this and the preceding century, when not built with any special view to defence. The house consisted of a hall, with a building attached to each end of it; the hall was generally the entire height of the house, and was the usual living apartment for the whole family; the buildings at each end were divided into an upper room, called the solar, which was the special chamber of the lord; and lower rooms, used as kitchen and cellars. An upper room at one end was usually the chapel, but in the present instance there seems a probability that the apartment over the gate-house served this purpose. The kitchen at Place, is now the best preserved part of the house; the original idea, however, is destroyed by a plaster ceiling. Above the enormous fire-place is one of the most curious architectural features in the building, it retains the original *louvre*, a sort of domed turret rising out of the roof, which served as the chimney; the form is octangular, and the date about 1480. Previous to this time chimneys were by no means common in large halls; the custom was to make a fire in the centre of the room, the smoke escaping through the louvre in the roof. When fire-places and chimneys were more generally introduced, the louvre was still retained for ornament, but unfortunately few of these now remain.

After leaving Tisbury, a short drive will take us to Fonthill Giffard. There are few spots in Wiltshire where the natural beauties of the scenery have been so heightened

by artificial means as this, and certainly none that have undergone more frequent vicissitudes of fortune. The manor of Fonthill (so called, probably, from the abundant springs that gush from the sides of the hills) derived its additional name of Giffard from the ancient family of that name, who held this, with nineteen other manors in Wiltshire, shortly after the Conquest; and in Domesday book "Fontel" is described as part of the possessions of Berenger Giffard, in whose line it continued until the eleventh year of King John [1209]. It then passed through the families of Manduit and Moleyns, until it came, with other lands, into the possession of Sir Robert Hungerford, upon whose attainder in 1461, the whole of his estates, including Fonthill Giffard, were seized by the Crown, and granted to Lord Wenlock. The next possessors of the manor were the Mervyns. With the hand of Lucy, daughter and heiress of Sir John Mervyn, Fonthill Giffard passed into the ownership of George, Lord Audley, created Earl of Castlehaven, 14 James I [1615-16], and in whose family it continued until the attainder of Mervyn, Lord Audley, in 1631. The crime and execution of this nobleman caused great excitement at the time; the particulars are given in the *State Trials*. By his atrocious conduct, and unfortunate fate, the manor of Fonthill again became forfeited to the Crown. It was then granted to Sir Francis, afterwards Lord Cottington, a distinguished courtier, and minister of James I and Charles I. Shortly after the possession of the manor by his son, Sir Thomas Cottington, who appears to have given offence to the Parliament by assisting the Earl of Marlborough in his attempts to relieve Wardour Castle, the whole of his estates were confiscated, and Fonthill was given to President Bradshaw, upon whose death Lord Cottington returned to his house with a numerous party

of friends and followers, and driving out Bradshaw's heir, maintained himself against any further attacks until the Restoration ensued, and confirmed him in quiet possession. With his family it continued during the succeeding reigns, and until its alienation by sale to Alderman Beckford, about the middle of the eighteenth century. It is from this period that the modern history of Fonthill becomes interesting. Although the property has now been divided, the Dowager Marchioness of Westminster having that portion of the high ground upon which stands the remains of the Abbey built by the younger Beckford, it must be remembered that the site of the various mansions of the different occupiers of Fonthill was, and still is, on the borders of the lake where Mr. Morrison's house now stands. The earliest account of a mansion on this spot is derived from an early painting, dated 1566, representing an important residence, probably built or enlarged during the long occupation of the Mervyns; this was succeeded by a building, said to have been designed by Inigo Jones, which came into possession of Alderman Beckford, but was utterly destroyed by fire in 1755. The momentary regret its loss occasioned in the mind of Mr. Beckford, was succeeded by a resolution to re-build it with greater splendour. There are several engravings extant, showing the magnitude and magnificence of this structure. This was the residence which the well-known William Beckford inherited and occupied for some time. The position of the house was somewhat low, and had the disadvantage of a public road passing near to it. Beckford very soon began to rear a temporary building on Beacon-hill, about a mile from the old house. It was the nucleus of the afterwards magnificent Fonthill Abbey; and it is little surprising that in a short time he felt the advantages of the site of his new creation; this, added to the progressive

attractions of a building so totally different from the common-place of art, and which, together with the scenery around it, was the sole creation of the proprietor's powerful fancy, decided the question of removal. In 1807, therefore, the whole of the mansion, except one pavilion, which still remains to mark its site and extent, was demolished, and its costly materials disposed of by public sale. What was said to have cost £250,000 was sold for £9,000—such was the fate of a residence which held so distinguished a rank amongst the mansions of Wiltshire. It is this pavilion which now forms the centre of the present residence of Mr. Morrison.

I will now say a few words about that remarkable structure—Fonthill Abbey. To anyone acquainted with Beckford's travels in southern Europe, and his visit to the Portuguese monasteries of Alcobaca and Batalha, just before the French revolution swept away all the romance, and a great deal of the reality of monastic life, it is evident that the accomplished author of *Vathek* was strongly imbued with the esthetic beauty of the old system as it then existed. We accordingly find that as early as 1796, he, in conjunction with James Wyatt, the architect, began to erect on this spot of great natural beauty, a Gothic building, the external characteristic of which was to be that of a convent, partly in ruins, and partly perfect. His ideas having thus assumed a definite form, a new area was opened for the vigorous and excursive imagination of Mr. Beckford, the unlimited range of which imposed continual and increased demands upon the skill and attention of the architect.

This building, although little of it now remains, has a singular interest in connection with the revival of Gothic architecture in this country; for the English returned to its use long before any other nation. Horace Walpole

seems to have been the first person who conceived the idea of reproducing the old style; he purchased Strawberry Hill in 1753, and soon after began building the house in a style that was meant to be pure Gothic. The attempt was ridiculous enough, and at this time we are at a loss to understand how either their author, or his contemporaries, could have persuaded themselves that they were reproducing the beauties of York Minster and Westminster Abbey, but the result on the art of the country was important; the practice prevailed, at first timidly, but now with great power of imitation. The Abbey of Fonthill was a very different thing, the proportions were vast, and a mediæval character pervaded the whole. The entire building had a most picturesque exterior, the grouping of the towers, bay windows, cloisters, and galleries, round the central mass was very effective as a whole; and although the architectural details were incongruous, and the mixture of styles such as no architect of the present day would employ, still the whole had a strong Gothic spirit, and was immensely in advance of any other work of that period. The ground plan of the building was a cross of four nearly equal limbs, and an octagonal tower rising nearly 300 feet high from the intersection. The principal features of the interior seem to have been the great hall of entrance, through a vast Gothic portal, leading by a flight of steps to the central octagon, a groined apartment of enormous height; from this, access was had to King Edward's gallery, terminating in an oratory; St. Michael's gallery; and a gorgeous apartment called the Yellow Damask Chamber; with numerous others. Notwithstanding the magnitude of this plan, no sufficient idea of the durability which attaches to a permanent dwelling was entertained. Timber and cement were at first the principal articles used in its construction, nor was it at this time, apparently, intended as a regular residence.

In December of the year 1800, Admiral Lord Nelson, with the celebrated Lady Hamilton, and other distinguished characters, were visitors at Fonthill; the festivities continued some days; upon that occasion a night Fête was given at the Abbey, at which Mr. Beckford displayed his remarkable hospitality. The author of *Vathek* had determined to exemplify by practical illustration some of the theories of that original romance. A procession of carriages, horses, and soldiers, moved from the old house to the Abbey in the evening, torches and many thousand lamps were distributed on the sides of the road, whilst bands of music and files of soldiers were stationed in different places to greet the company as they passed. Everything, indeed, was provided to steal upon the senses, to dazzle the eye, and bewilder the fancy. From a letter written at the time, I quote the following condensed account of this unique entertainment:—

"After entering a groined Gothic hall, through a double line of soldiers, the company were received in the great saloon, called the Cardinal's parlour, furnished with rich tapestries, long curtains of purple damask before the arched windows, strong tables and chairs studded with ivory, of various but antique fashion; the whole room in the noblest style of monastic ornament, and illuminated by lights on silver sconces. At the moment of entrance the company sat down at a long table occupying nearly the whole length of the room (fifty-three feet), to a superb dinner, served in one long line of enormous silver dishes, in the substantial manner of the ancient abbeys, unmixed with the refinements of modern cookery. The table and sideboard glittered with piles of plate, and a profusion of lights, not to mention a blazing Christmas fire of cedar and the cones of pine, united to increase the splendour of the room. Dinner being ended, the guests moved upstairs to the other finished apartments of the Abbey. The staircase was lighted by certain mysterious living figures, placed at different intervals, dressed in hooded gowns, and standing with large wax torches in their hands. A magnificent room, hung with yellow damask, and decorated with cabinets of the most precious japan, supporting ewers and vases of solid gold, received the assembly. From this room they were conducted to the gallery,

nearly three hundred feet in length, the long series of lights on either side of the room, resting on stands of ebony, all multiplied and reflected in the great oriel at the end, produced a singular and magical effect. As the company entered the gallery, solemn music struck the ear from some invisible quarter, as if from behind the screen of scarlet curtains which backed the shrine, and suggested ideas of a religious service; ideas which associated as they were with so many appropriate objects addressed to the eye, recalled the grand chapel scenes and ceremonies of our ancient Catholic times. After the scenic representation, a collation was presented in the library, consisting of various sorts of confectionery, served in gold baskets, with spiced wines, etc. A large vacant space was left surrounded by rows of chairs; the assembly no sooner occupied them, than Lady Hamilton appeared in the character of Agrippina, bearing the ashes of Germanicus in a golden urn, and as presenting herself before the Roman people with the design of exciting them to revenge the death of her husband. Lady Hamilton displayed with truth and energy every gesture, attitude, and expression of countenance, which could be conceived in Agrippina herself, best calculated to have moved the passions of the Romans in behalf of their favourite general. The action of her head, of her hands and arms in the various positions of the urn, in her manner of presenting it before the Romans, or of holding it up to the Gods in the act of supplication, was most classically graceful. The company, delighted and charmed, broke up and departed at eleven o'clock to sup at the mansion house."

It was not until 1807, that Mr. Beckford decided to make the Abbey his habitual residence; this naturally occasioned some attention to be paid to the stability, which had been too little attended to in works so hastily carried up and finished. The wooden central tower, which had been only covered with cement, was cased with stone, but without being clamped to the woodwork; this tower was 276 feet high, crowned with crocketed pinnacles. It thus remained till the grand fall, but was very insecure, as the event proved. Every part of the Abbey was fitted with costly hangings and massive furniture. All the windows were filled with heraldic glass of the richest hues. Although Mr. Beckford's paternal ancestors were not remarkable, his mother was a Hamilton, and his wife a

Gordon, and through these female alliances he was enabled to quarter the arms of the royal, and many of the noble families of England. Magnificent as was the building, it was even more remarkable for the treasures of art which it contained. The pictures were of the highest class and the collection of Oriental porcelain and japan was the finest ever formed in England. It was especially rich in enamelled and jewelled goldsmith's work of the period of Cellini; indeed, it is not too much to say that a large proportion of works of this class now scattered amongst the finest collections in England, were brought together by Mr. Beckford.

The frequent vicissitudes which had attended Fonthill did not relinquish it. In 1822, Mr. Beckford suddenly resolved to sell the whole; whether this arose from a depreciation in West Indian property, in which he was largely interested, or from a love of change, it is useless now to enquire. The greater part of the valuable contents of the Abbey were sold by auction; this brought together all the lovers of art in England, who for the first time had an opportunity of seeing this hitherto secluded spot, and its wonderful contents. The Abbey and lands passed into the possession of Mr. Farquhar, a retired East Indian merchant.

Scarcely had the Abbey ceased to be the property of its celebrated owner, who with an air more of romance than reality had caused its erection, than, as if by a final waive of the magician's hand, its principal features ceased to exist. About three in the afternoon of the 21st December, 1825, the stately tower fell with a tremendous crash, destroying the hall, the whole of the octagon, and a great part of the galleries. Other portions were subsequently removed, and all that remains now to mark the site of this fairy creation is the square tower and adjoining hall.

This part of the property now came into the possession of the Marquis of Westminster; another mansion has now been built, not far from the site of the Abbey, and is interesting as being a modern example of the Scotch turreted buildings, having a strong type of French art, such as was very prevalent in Scotland when the two countries were politically connected. The architect was Mr. Burn.

There still exist many fine exotic trees and plantations of silver fir and other pines, laid out with consummate taste by Mr. Beckford. The view from the top of the tower is very extensive over Dorset and Wilts; from this spot too is seen the long green glade, approaching a mile in length, which formed the chief entrance to the Abbey, and is one of the many miles of drives which Beckford laid out in the spacious woods.

Mr. Beckford removed to Bath, where he formed with exquisite taste a collection of works of art, scarcely inferior to that of Fonthill. He built a tower of great height adjoining his residence on Lansdown, where he died in 1844, at the ripe age of 84.

The present Church at Fonthill Giffard is a good example of Gothic work, designed by Mr. Wyatt, and built at the cost of the late Marquis of Westminster. This building replaced an ugly Church, resembling an ill-proportioned Grecian temple, erected by Alderman Beckford, who seems to have taken down the old Church which formerly stood near the old mansion, and to have buried all the memorials of the Mervyn, and Cottington families. This desecration was regarded with a sort of horror at the time, and the old people are said to have prophesied that the Beckfords "*would not always hold it*". Perhaps some future antiquary may hit upon the place of deposit of these memorials, and again bring them to light.

As we approach the residence of Mr. Morrison, a good view is obtained of the picturesque lake and woods which formed the demesne of the old Fonthill Park. The House contains a very large gathering of costly works of art. The collection of Oriental porcelain and jade is very large and of the highest quality; many pieces are of great rarity and beauty. The specimens of Chinese enamel are amongst the finest that have been brought to this country, and are remarkable examples of the Oriental mode of design and colour.

At Chilmark we are in the neighbourhood of extensive quarries of freestone (the Portland beds), they extend as far as Fonthill and Tisbury, and have been worked from an early period. The stone from which Salisbury Cathedral was built came from Chilmark. An impetus has lately been given to these workings owing to the facility of removal by railway.

At Compton Park, for several centuries the residence of the Penruddocke family, we are again met with very interesting associations connected with the civil wars of the Commonwealth period. They first settled in this county in the person of Sir George Penruddocke, of Ivychurch,[1] who was standard-bearer, under William, first Earl of Pembroke, at the battle of St. Quentin, in 1557. He was a member of Parliament for the county, and High Sheriff in 1562. He was succeeded by Sir Edward Penruddocke, of Compton Chamberlain, who built the House there, and was member for Wilton in 1586. His grandson was the well known John Penruddocke, a colonel

[1] George Penrudock, of Penruduck, co. Cumberland, from whence they descend, had a patent of arms granted by Sir Christopher Barker, Garter, in 1548. A pedigree of the Wiltshire branch will be found in the Herald's visitations of the county, made A.D. 1565 and 1623.

in the army of Charles I, who distinguished himself in the Penruddocke rising, when, after an unsuccessful attempt to proclaim Charles II at Salisbury, on the 12th March 1655, he was, together with his Wiltshire neighbour—Colonel Hugh Grove and others, taken prisoner and beheaded at Exeter.[1] The original warrant for their execution, signed by Oliver Cromwell, is still preserved at Compton House; besides several other personal relics of great interest connected with Penruddocke's death, which was attended by many affecting circumstances, as is shown by the correspondence with his wife, Arundel. Compton House also contains a considerable number of family portraits, commencing with Sir George, of Ivychurch, and including the Royalist colonel, and his wife. Since that time different members of the family have successively filled the office of High Sheriff for the county, and also frequently represented the borough of Wilton in Parliament.

[1] His remains are believed to have been brought to Compton Church for interment. He was not the first member of the family, who had lost his life in the Royal cause. Captain Henry Penruddocke, a young officer, had been shot in December 1644, by some of Ludlow's troopers, who found him asleep in his quarters at Mrs. Beckett's, at West Lavington. The old house where it happened, known as "Beckett's farm," has only recently (1906) been pulled down.

On some Heraldic Stained Glass at Wulfhall; and the destruction in 1788, of the ancient glass in Salisbury Cathedral.[1]

To the Editor of the Wiltshire Magazine.

Dear Sir,

I lately made a pilgrimage to Wulfhall,[2] and found an interesting relic of the palmy days of the Lord Protector's residence there. In the upper part of the existing farm-house, close by the old barn, but certainly not in its original position, are some well-preserved portions of a stained glass window, relating to Jane Seymour, and her son, Edward VI, when Prince of Wales. It is divided into two parts, each having three subjects. The upper consists of the imperial crown; in the second is the badge of Jane Seymour, Queen of Henry VIII—a crowned eagle or phœnix rising from a bed of flowers, consisting of pinks and roses, and resting on a castle. In the lower division are, on the dexter side, the Prince of Wales's feathers, and on the other side the Tudor Rose.

This glass must have been made at some period when Edward VI was called Prince of Wales, that is, between 1537 and 1546.

Sandford says that Queen Jane Seymour "who is said to die willingly, to save the life of her son, did bear a Phœnix in his Funeral Fire, with this motto, NASCATUR UT ALTER", and subsequently adds in a note, "This

[1] From the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xix, pp. 226-7.

[2] Wulfhall (anciently *Ulfel*), in the parish of Burbage, came to the Seymours, at an early date, by marriage with a co-heiress of Esturmy. Aubrey mentions the *old barn* in which the wedding of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour is said to have been kept—the barn being hung with tapestry for the occasion.

Edward VI, bare (as did the Black Prince) three feathers in a crown, while his father lived, as Prince of Wales, with ICH DIEN. Albeit he was never so created." Mr. Planché remarks that the ostrich feather was originally a badge, and not a crest, as now erroneously regarded. Plumes of feathers were not worn until the reign of Henry V, and then as portions of costume, not as personal crests. The Black Prince's feather was a single ostrich feather only.

Whilst on the subject of stained glass, I should like to put on more lasting record the following interesting letter, which appeared in a local newspaper some time ago, relating to the wanton destruction of painted glass in Salisbury Cathedral towards the end of the last century; at the time when the disastrous alterations were being made in the Cathedral, by Wyatt, under the auspices of Bishop Barrington. It was written on the 16th June, 1788, by John Berry, glazier, of Harnham, to John Lloyd, Esq., of Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London :—

"Sir,

This day I have sent you a Box full of old Stained and Painted Glass, as you desired me to due, wich I hope it will sute your Purpos, it his the best that I can get at Present. But I expet to Beatt to Peceais a great deale verey sune, as it his of now use to we, and we Due it for the lead, if yow want Eney more of the same sorts you may have what thear his, if it will Pay for Taking out, as it his a Deal of Truble to what Beating it to Peceais his, you will send me a line as sune as Posobl for we are goain to move ore glasing shop to a Nother Plase and thin we to save [have ?] a greatt Deale more of the like sort, wich I ham your most Omble Servnt, John Berry."

The original, endorsed "Berry ye Glazier about beating the fine painted Glass Window at Sarum to pieces to save the Lead ! ! !", is in the possession of Miss Conway Griffith, in North Wales.

This barbarity was certainly equal to anything per-

petrated at the time of the Reformation, or during the period of the Civil Wars.[1]

The greater part of the glass so destroyed was probably the portions then remaining of the original "grisaille" windows, of the middle of the thirteenth century, from the want of which the present interior of Salisbury Cathedral suffers so terribly. With the exception of the great eastern and western windows, and perhaps a few others of importance which were filled with the rich mosaic glass of the period, it is probable that the whole of the side windows of the arcades and clerestories were occupied with a plainer decoration, consisting of foliaged scroll-work on a white ground of a rich sea-green hue, with narrow borders, and occasional medallions of richly-coloured glass. A valuable store of this glass, brought from different parts of the Cathedral, is still preserved in the windows of the south-eastern transept. The grandest existing example of this kind is to be found in the windows of the north transept of York Cathedral, known as the Five Sisters.

The great variety of design in the composition of these windows seems to have been suggested by the idea of forming a rich and complicated pattern by arranging in layers, panels, or figures, in such a manner that each layer might over-lap and partially conceal those beneath. Others have a geometrical pattern, in which the design is expressed solely by the lead-work used in the construction of the windows.

It was probably owing to the cost and difficulty of repairing these windows, also from the large quantity of

[1] Capt. Symonds, a Royalist officer, who visited the Cathedral in the autumn of 1644, thus notes in his diary:—"The windowes in the body of the church are new glased at bottome north side; written thus in most of the windowes—*Joh'is Jewell Ep'i;* 1569."

lead employed in their composition, that the Salisbury "restorers" of 1788 would find their excuse for clearing away the whole mass, and replacing them with the cold quarry glazing which now exists.

I am, yours faithfully,

J. E. Nightingale.

Paintings on the vaulting of the choir of Salisbury Cathedral.

[The following reply to a question in *Notes and Queries*, November 1870, respecting these remains of early art, will explain their condition and treatment at that date.]

The outer borders of the medallions—the subjects of which were described by Price, in 1774—can still be easily made out; but with two or three exceptions, the subjects have disappeared under repeated whitewashings and possibly scrapings. The medallions once containing illustrations of the twelve months, are a complete blank at present; there is not the smallest trace of anything to show whether the subjects were in the form of signs of the Zodiac or otherwise.

All the medallions have been carefully left with whatever coverings they might have from time to time received; the remaining portions of the vaulting have been cleaned. Some slight attempts have been made at the edge of the medallions to remove the layers of wash; but the result is not promising, as it is found that what colour remains comes off in the attempt, so that there is little probability that the subjects typifying the months will be preserved in their original form.

The remains of painted foliage, where protected by the projecting mouldings, are sufficiently clear to justify their being reproduced. The design of this ornamentation corresponds so well with the foliage in the sculptured capitals and bosses, that there can be no doubt that these paintings formed part of the original design.

The medallions still to be traced, consist of a faint outline of our Lord in glory—a majestic figure, seated, within a *vesica piscis*. There can also be seen the trace of a dignified figure, crowned, and holding a scroll—probably King David. What remains of the figures is quite sufficient to show how important these paintings must have been, as illustrating the art in the thirteenth century.

J. E. N.

On some Ancient Customs connected with Salisbury.[1]

I have been asked to make some observations this evening on the contents of the mediæval part of this Museum. The objects are, however, so multifarious that it would be impossible to do more than glance at the whole. I will therefore confine myself to two or three subjects connected with the habits and customs of our forefathers, and which can be illustrated by actual examples now in the Museum.

These are, first, the curious Brank, or Scold's Bridle, formerly used to keep in order the unruly tongues of some of our lady ancestors; also the leathern bottles, or Black-jacks, which so well illustrate the tipling propensities of our forefathers; but principally I wish to say a few words in illustration of the Giant and Hob-nob, which have lately been placed in the Museum by the courtesy of the few remaining members of the Guild of Tailors, and which formed so prominent a part in all the pageants of the middle ages.

I will dispose of the most disagreeable subject first. The two examples of the Brank, or Scold's Bridle, now in the Museum are excellent illustrations of the barbarous custom in use principally from the reign of Charles II., to that of Queen Anne, by which scolds and unruly females were tortured by having these head pieces affixed to them, with the rough plate of metal inserted over the tongue.

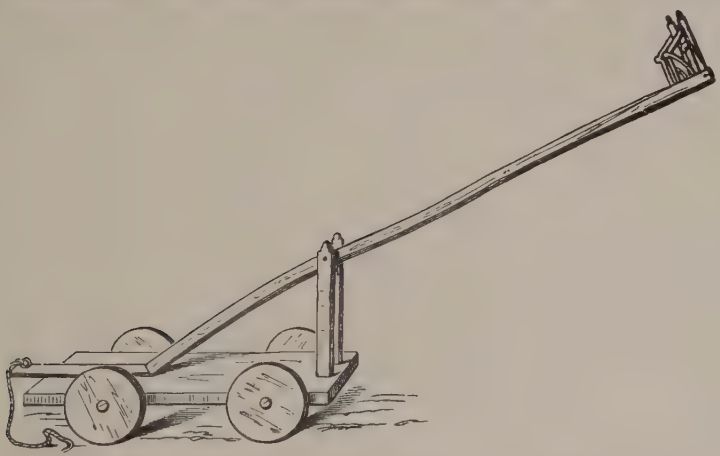
In addition to Branks and Cucking Stools, the scolds of former days had the terrors of ecclesiastical courts before their eyes. We read that, in 1614, Margaret the wife of one John Bach was prosecuted at the sessions, as a

[1] A paper read at the Salisbury, South Wilts, and Blackmore Museum.

"*common scold, and a sower of strife amongste her neighbours, and for misbehaving her tongue towards her mother-in-law, at a visitation at Bromsgrove, and was excommunicated therefore.*"

It appears that the Brank was never a legal punishment. The punishment for scolds was, and still is, by the laws of England, that they be placed in the Cucking Stool, and immersed in a pond or stream.

This apparatus of the Cucking stool still exists in some few places. The chair in which the culprit was placed, was at the end of a long beam attached to a tumbrel on four wheels, and was worked on the see-saw principle.[1] This was wheeled round the town, and the



patient finally ducked three times. It was probably practised in Salisbury within a comparatively late period. The locality in which this peculiar punishment was inflicted here was at the open part of the new canal in Milford Street, a little to the east of the Red Lion Inn. The site is indicated in an old map,[2] as "Cage and Ducking Stool".

[1] The perfect specimen here engraved was long preserved in an unused aisle of Leominster Church. Its length is 23 feet 6 inches.

[2] Naish's plan of the City, published by Collins in 1750.

Another obsolete instrument of punishment, the Pillory, only disappeared a very few years ago. The Pillory post formerly stood about in the centre of the Market Place. This consisted of a wooden frame, elevated on a strong upright post, about fifteen feet in height; the criminal was placed on a platform, his head and hands being firmly fastened into the frame, which turned on a swivel, he was left to escape as best he could from the "chaff" and various kinds of missiles which were indiscriminately showered at him.

From the number of Branks and Cucking Stools formerly in existence, they must have been in frequent use. It has been suggested that in those times, there being few lunatic asylums, and insanity being a disease little understood, it was probable that many insane women were violent, and punished as scolds, who would be now treated as lunatics.

These examples of ancient manners are worthy the attention of all who study what are frequently termed the "good old times," and who may, by that study, have to be thankful that they did not live in them.

I will now pass on to the curious specimens of the leathern Black-jack, or Bombart, which are suggestive of a pleasanter phase in the habits of our forefathers. The larger one is a magnificent and truly royal example of a leathern Black-jack. It bears the date 1646, surmounted by a crown.

These leathern bottles—much used in the middle ages—appear to have been a peculiar branch of English industry. The upper edge of the vessel is squeezed into a slight lip in front, and the stout loop handle at the back is firmly stitched on either edge, thus making it strong, hard, and enduring as oak, and seeming to justify the old adage, that there is "nothing like leather".

In the time of Queen Elizabeth, leathern bottles were in common use, as is seen by the following quotation of that period.

"Leathern cups, small jacks, we have in many ale-houses of the city and suburbs, tipt with silver, besides the great Black-jack and bombarts at the Court; which, when the Frenchmen first saw, they reported at their return into their country, that the Englishmen used to drink out of their boots."

The smaller measure was called the jill; it is described in Dyche's Dictionary, 1744, as "a measure containing a quarter of a pint, much used by wine drinkers in a morning". The nursery rhyme concerning "Jack and Jill" probably refers to these cups.

I will now give you as shortly as I can what particulars I have been able to gather concerning the history of the Giant, and his attendant Hob-nob. This august personage is, I apprehend, but little known amongst the rising generation of Salisbury, although he has played many parts in his time. Of late years, I believe, he has seldom appeared in public; only at long intervals, at times of general rejoicing.[1]

The only allusion to him in Mr. Hatcher's *History of Salisbury*, is at the accession of George III, which was celebrated with great pomp.

"The bells of the churches were rung, and flags were displayed on the towers and other elevated parts of the city. The Mayor and Corporation, with the different companies, attended divine service at the Cathedral; and particular mention is made of the Giant, which is said to have never made its appearance, except on extraordinary occasions."

The use of the Giant in England since the time of the

[1] An engraving of the Salisbury Giant, as it appeared about 1846, will be found in an interesting little work entitled *Gog and Magog, the Giants in Guildhall*, by the late Mr. F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. (Hotten 1859). See also *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, vol. i, pp. 132, 177, and vol. ii, pp. 39-43.

Reformation, has been confined to Royal and City pageants, and periods of public rejoicing; but I think there can be little doubt that it had an earlier origin. It probably formed a great feature in the religious plays and processions of the middle ages, and was originally a representation of St. Christopher. He is usually depicted as a gigantic man bearing our Saviour, as the Holy Infant, on his shoulders, and crossing a river.

This was a very favourite subject for pictorial representation before the Reformation. In most of our old parish churches, whenever the whitewash is removed from the walls, a Saint Christopher is almost sure to turn up in some part of the building.

In the late Mr. Duke's work on *The Halle of John Halle*, of Salisbury, an elaborate essay is given to show that the image of St. Christopher is the "*allegorical personification of the Cross*," and in some sense of this sort it was probably regarded in early times. Indeed nearly all the old pastimes, where scenic action was necessary, had their origin in the "Mysteries and Moralities" of the ante-reformation period. The Mummers plays, which still linger on, and are to be seen in many country parishes at Christmas tide, are doubtless a traditional mode of representing the more elaborate religious plays of the middle ages. It is a remarkable instance of the retention of an old custom still in vogue, and in many points but little changed. The dresses of the modern Mummers are ridiculous enough, but the characters remain pretty much the same as they existed before the Reformation.

An early puritan writer, describing some parish in the north of England, says:—

"It hath but one Church, wherein I observed a wonderful multitude of Papistical images and pictures; amongst the rest the images of *St. Christopher*, and *St. George* of Cappadocia killing the

dragon, and another of the royal Virgin, the king of Egypt's daughter, whom he freed from the serpent."

Now these are precisely the characters represented in the Mummer's play of the present time, and which I lately saw completely performed at Christmas. The play was commenced by St. George, who first enters, and is supposed to be accoutred in complete armour: he exclaims:—

"Here come I, St. George,
The valiant Champion bold,
And with my sword and spear,
I've won three crowns of gold.
I slew the Dragon, *he*,
And brought him to the slaughter;
By which I gained fair Sabra,
The King of Egypt's daughter."

The Giant now deposited in the Museum once formed part of a probably more extensive collection of properties belonging to the Company of Tailors. This company is the relic of one of the ancient and stately guilds which formed so interesting a feature in the constitution of our municipal institutions of the middle ages.

It must have existed at an early period, as the actual charter of incorporation was granted by Edward IV, under the title of "Wardens and Commonality of the mystery of Tailors; brothers and sisters of the Guild or Confraternity of St. John the Baptist."

This was doubtless a very important Guild in the city of Salisbury, a place intimately connected with the wool trade of the West of England, and having many "Merchants of the Staple," as the trade was then called. The members of the confraternity included probably Merchant Tailors, as well as Merchants of the Staple, and was not confined to working tailors as in later times.

Some account of this Guild is to be found in Hatcher's *History of Salisbury*. He mentions a tradition that the

Giant has been called St. Christopher, as their patron, but, as he says, erroneously: St. John the Baptist was the patron of the Tailors' Guild. I still, however, think that the tradition had some truth in it, and that the Giant was really the traditional figure of a St. Christopher in earlier times.

A proof that the Tailors had St. John for their patron, may be seen in the wand of office now deposited in the Museum, with the Giant, and which bears on its crest the *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God, the symbol of St. John.

This connection of the Giant with a Guild having St. John for a patron, throws some light on its history.

In former times it was customary in London, and in other great cities, to set the Midsummer Watch upon the eve of the festival of St. John the Baptist. This was usually performed with great pomp and pageantry. In those days, the citizens themselves undertook watch and ward. There was also a marching watch, which passed through the principal streets. In order to furnish this watch with lights, a large number of cressets were provided. The cresset was a huge lanthorn fixed at the end of a long pole, and carried upon a man's shoulder. On Midsummer, or St. John's eve, a procession of the Watch set forth, each man appearing in appropriate habit. There was also divers pageants and Morris-dancers with constables and others. The Mayor himself came after, well mounted, with his sword bearer, and preceded by the waits, or city minstrels.

This old custom of setting the watch in London, was maintained until the year 1539, when it was discontinued on account of the expense.

There is a passage in Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, which shows that this custom was continued in some places for at least a century later, he says:—

"On Midsummer eve, it was customary annually, at Burford, in Oxfordshire, to carry a Dragon up and down the town, with mirth and rejoicing, to which was added the figure of a Giant."

This Dragon, or Hob-nob, or Hobby-horse, as it was sometimes called, was not wanting in the Salisbury pageant. Together with the Giant, we have this, his usual attendant. Besides these are the customary huge sword and mace, appertaining to the Giant. This mace, having a diamond-shaped head, has been absurdly called the Giant's pincushion.

I think it very probable that it was not originally intended as a mace at all, but rather one of the cressets or lanthorns carried during the night watch, and to which it bears a strong resemblance.

Such then is one of the uses to which the Giant and Hob-nob, which you now see before you, was applied. The present structure, of course, is not very ancient; they were generally made of wicker work; from the fragile materials used, they necessarily soon decayed, and were constantly being renewed, with some slight alteration in the details, according to the feeling of the age.[1]

Giants, then, were part of the pageants used in the different cities of the kingdom. By an ordinance of the Mayor of Chester, for the setting of the watch on the eve

[1] In an account of some peace rejoicings in Salisbury, about 1780, "*St. Christopher the ancient Giant,*" is said to have been newly dressed for the occasion—his coat alone taking 34 yards of cloth. When seen by Mr. Fairholt, F.S.A., about 1846, he was habited in coloured chintz, bordered with red and purple, and trimmed with yellow fringe. The head was modelled in pasteboard, and coloured, the hair being made of tow; a gold laced cocked hat and yellow cockade completed the costume. A large wooden pipe was stuck in the mouth, and a branch of artificial laurel placed in the right hand; the club and sword were both carved in wood and painted. As the last survivor of the old English perambulating giants, the Salisbury example possessess an especial interest.

of the festival of St. John, in 1564, it was directed that there should be annually, according to ancient custom, a pageant, consisting of *four Giants*, with animals, hobby-horses, etc. In 1599, Henry Hardman, the Mayor of that year, from religious motives, caused the Giants in the Midsummer show "*to be broken, and not to goe the Devil in his feathers*"; and he provided a man, in complete armour, to go in their stead; but, in 1601, John Ratclyffe, a beer brewer, being Mayor, set out the Giants and the Midsummer show, as usual. The materials for making these Chester Giants, were deal boards, nails, pasteboards, buckram, size, cloth, etc.; also tinsel, gold leaf, and colours of different kinds. There is a somewhat ridiculous entry in the Chester charges, of one shilling and four pence "*for arsenic, to put into the paste, to save the Giants from being eaten by the rats.*"

These motley displays of pomp and absurdity were highly relished by all classes of persons, and maintained for ages their popularity; they do not appear to have lost the smallest portion of their attraction by the frequency of representation. Shows of this kind were never more fashionable than in the sixteenth century, when they were generally encouraged by persons of the highest rank. During the Commonwealth they were, for a time, utterly abolished, and the whole race of Giants, and Morris-dancers were sternly swept away by the Puritans. At the Restoration they quickly recovered themselves, and became as popular as ever; but all their religious significance had now passed away. The Giants still formed a prominent part in processions got up for any time of public rejoicing. The Hobby-horse, or Hob-nob, was essentially a part of the Morris dance. This Morris dance was sometimes performed by itself, but was much more frequently joined to processions and pageants, and especially to those

appropriated for the celebration of the May games. On these occasions the Hobby-horse, or Dragon, with Robin Hood, the Maid Marion, and other characters, supposed to have been the companions of that famous outlaw, made a part of the dance.

The Hob-nob now in the Museum is a very perfect example of the animal. It is a compound figure: the resemblance of the head and tail of a horse, with a light wooden frame for the body, is attached to the person who performs the double character; trappings reach to the ground, so as to conceal the feet of the actor, and prevent its being seen that the supposed horse had none.

The head and body of the actor was covered with a net, surmounted by bells, so that he could see, without being seen. Thus equipped, he pranced about, imitating the curvetings and motions of a horse. An apparatus is contrived by which the mouth of the horse is made to open and shut at the pleasure of the actor, and the fun consisted in running amongst the crowd, and snapping, like a dragon, at the lasses, and timid lookers on.

This is only a solitary example of the practical fun and jollity with which our ancestors appear to have enjoyed their holiday pastimes, and which seems to have utterly disappeared from amongst us in the present day.

There is none of that rollicking fun which characterised the pastimes of our forefathers, when actors and lookers on were equally bent on partaking of the amusement provided, and which justified the term of "merry England", so long applied to this country.

Times are now changed; intellectual pleasures are attainable in our large towns, of which our ancestors knew but little. As regards public pastimes, processions of the Hob-nob and Giant, and the like, I believe we have much

degenerated, and are, I am afraid, open to the reproach of the foreigner, that "we take our pleasures sadly".

I believe, however, the same change has been worked in other countries. The carnival at Rome and Naples, and other continental cities, which used formerly to be the incarnation of fun and merriment, is now sadly changed. The old spirit has departed, and little now remains to remind us of the pageants of the middle ages, save the skeleton and relics which now so appropriately find a resting place in this Museum.

Old Church Plate in Wiltshire.[1]

It is not intended in the present paper to give any general or detailed account of Wiltshire Church plate,[2] for that would require a considerable amount of co-operation, but rather to draw attention to the subject, and to suggest the necessity of preserving what still remains of ancient Church plate in the county. Perhaps the most effectual way of doing this is by preparing carefully-tabulated lists of the sacred vessels, and whatever other plate exists in each parish, together with such details of hall-marks, dimensions, inscriptions, and references in parish books, etc., as can be brought together. To make it permanent, all modern plate should be included. When this is done, and the particulars printed, it will be found to be the best safeguard for their preservation. It is also desirable to notice any old pieces not in actual use; it frequently happens that when new plate is presented, as it often is on the restoration of a Church, the old pieces—which may not be very attractive—are put away, and, from changes of incumbency, and other causes, they eventually disappear, nobody knowing how.

The most convenient machinery for accomplishing this is by utilising the existing subdivision of the diocese into rural deaneries, by which means a moderate and manageable number of parishes are supervised by each rural dean. An excellent beginning was made, in 1880, by the Rev. C. R. Manning, Rural Dean of Redenhall, Norfolk, the results of which were printed in the ninth volume of the Norfolk Archæological Society. A still more important work has lately been accomplished in the diocese of Car-

[1] From the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxi (1884).

[2] This was subsequently dealt with *in extenso* in the author's *Church Plate of the County of Wilts* (1891).

lisle; a complete volume has been published, giving full details of all the existing pieces, and also bringing to notice another specimen of a pre-Reformation chalice, now in use at Old Hutton.

There are good reasons for believing that the county of Wilts is still rich in the possession of fine examples of Church plate. Those specimens which have come under the notice of the writer, mostly within a short distance from Salisbury, have already produced two chalices of pre-Reformation times, of unusual interest, namely, those of Berwick St. James, and Wylye, also the fragments of a third at Codford St. Mary, besides an early paten belonging to the Church of St. Edmund, Salisbury. There are also to be found fine old examples of secular plate adapted to Church use, notably at Barford St. Martin, Teffont Ewyas, Fugglestone St. Peter, and St. Martin's, Salisbury.

It will be as well to say a few words on the causes which have led to the almost entire destruction of mediæval plate, both sacred and secular, and more particularly to give some few historical notices relating to the form which the chalice has assumed at different epochs.

It is now very rare to find any examples at all of the goldsmith's craft even as early as the thirteenth century, a period so rich in English art. Few, indeed, are the chalices, patens, or other sacred vessels of the English Church, still existing of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries; while of cups, goblets, or other vessels of domestic use scarcely an example is to be found which belongs to the earlier middle ages. If formed of the more precious metals they have been melted, or coined, or re-worked into more fashionable shapes. There was, of course, a special reason why England should suffer more than any other country in the loss of its Church plate during the troubled period of the sixteenth century. It is much to be re-

gretted that Henry VIII, disposed, as he was, to patronise art in some of its forms, had not something of the spirit of a collector, and did not use the unrivalled opportunity which the dissolution of monasteries afforded him to preserve at least some of the more beautiful of the vast quantity of shrines, monstrances, chalices, and other vessels for sacred or domestic use, which fell into his hands.

The causes which have led to the almost total disappearance of early English plate have been well summarised by a late writer in the *Quarterly Review* :—

"The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries were rich in plate; the next question is, what has become of it? You might as well ask what has become of the last winter's snow, for the answer is the same. Melted, not once, but over and over again; so that our shillings and sixpences may contain the very metal which glowed, richly gilt or beaming with enamels, on Becket's mitre, or his pastoral staff. Sooner or later the golden bowl and the silver beaker go the same way, their end is the crucible and the melting-pot; their form and fashion changes, while the red and white substance remains the same. In four successive centuries, old English plate had as many arch-enemies. In the fifteenth century, the wars of the Roses caused many a noble piece to melt; in the sixteenth, Henry VIII, and the dissolution of monasteries, were even more fatal to gold and silver work; in the seventeenth, the Great Rebellion and the Civil War again swept the sideboards and plate-closets of each side with equal impartiality; and, at the beginning of the eighteenth, the need of bullion, under which William III laboured, brought to the melting-pot much of the old plate which still remained after the ravages it had suffered in the three preceding centuries. Taking all this into consideration, the wonder is, not that so little English plate exists prior to the reign of Anne, but that any of it at all is left to give us some insight into the magnificence with which the halls, and tables and sideboards of our ancestors were decked on great festive occasions."

From an early period there has been a peculiar interest taken in the holy cup or chalice. Mediæval legends delighted in the quest for the "Holy Graal". Throughout the middle ages the chalice, or rather, perhaps, the dish or shallow bowl from which our Lord was said to

have eaten the paschal lamb at the Last Supper, was a favourite subject of legendary romance. This holy graal,[1] the name given to the wonder-working vessel, was said to have been brought by Joseph of Arimathea to Britain, after it had received many drops of blood which issued from the still open wounds of our Lord's body after death. It is closely connected with the Arthurian romance of the Round Table, and this conception of the holy graal spread rapidly into all Christian countries, especially amongst the Provençals. This legend is said to be as old as the eighth century, but most English writers maintain that the conception arose in the twelfth century, and that the details of the story which brought Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury, and its introduction into the romance of Arthur, is rather due to some master hand, probably Walter Mape, who was a canon of Salisbury, and some time parish priest

[1] Bishop Thirlwall, in his *Letters*, p. 216, says :—"*Saint Graal*, the origin of which from *Sang Royal* is refuted by the Provencal forms, is in the epic poems the dish out of which Christ partook of the Last Supper with his disciples. Nothing, I believe, is more certain than that the name has nothing to do with *sang* either *real* or *royal*. Indeed, if you only reflect for a moment on the wildness of a quest after a liquid, I think you will see that the etymology is out of the question. Littré gives the true one '*sorte de vase, origine inconnue*'. There never has been any doubt that it was the name of a *vessel*. Did you not know that it was brought from the Holy Land to Genoa, where it is still shown under the name of the '*sacro catino*', and by persons not in the secret believed to be a single emerald, being in fact a piece of green glass?" Besides the holy cup of Genoa there are several others preserved in different parts of Europe, all claiming to be the identical cup used at the Last Supper; the most remarkable of these is *el santo calix*, now in the treasury of the Cathedral at Valencia, in Spain. This cup is of agate, mounted with gold chased in a pattern very much resembling the interlaced work found in early Scandinavian and Irish ornamentation; it is also enriched with gems, and has two handles. The period of the mounting is probably about the eighth or ninth century. In 1736 a volume was written by A. Sales to prove its authenticity and power of working miracles.

of Westbury, near Bristol, and who seems to have conceived the vast design of steeping the Arthurian legend, and through it the whole imaginative literature of the age, in the doctrine of the Christian sacrifice.

The fashion of the chalice in primitive ages was probably of the most simple kind. In the early middle ages—say before the eleventh century—the chalices appear for the most part to have been rather large two-handled bowls with a foot only; the holy sacrament was then administered to the congregation in both kinds, so there was no need of a stem or knop, as the chalice was not to be grasped, but was presented to the mouth of the recipients by the priest, who held it by the two handles. There were, however, two sorts of chalices used, those of ordinary size, for the personal use of the priest, called *minores*; others of larger dimensions, meant to contain a considerable quantity of the eucharistic wine for the general communicants, were called *calices ministeriales*.

In the *Dictionnaire de l' Académie des Beaux-Arts* (vol. iii, p. 4) an interesting engraving is given of the chalice of St. Ludger, Bishop of Munster, at the end of the eighth century. This vessel is without handles, and is somewhat curious as it bears a considerable resemblance to the early chalice of Berwick St. James, Wilts; the form of the bowl, however, varies, being much less shallow than the English example. This illustration was originally given by Dom Martenne in the *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins*.

This form of chalice with double handles is found in various pictoral illustrations of the Anglo-Saxon period. A remarkable example of such, known as the Ardagh cup, was discovered a few years since in Ireland, from whence so many beautiful instances of early Christian art have come. The cup has two handles, and is ornamented with

an infinite variety of filigree patterns on plates of gold, being Celtic work of the finest kind and period, portions of which are enamelled. The date is believed to be the end of the ninth, or the early part of the tenth century.

In the coffin of St. Cuthbert, who died in 688, was deposited, with other personal relics, "a chalice of the purest gold supporting an onyx stone made hollow by the most beautiful workmanship." This was found intact when the coffin was opened at Durham, in 1104, but had disappeared during the "visitation" in the time of Henry VIII, as was discovered when the coffin was opened again in 1827 (See Raine's *St. Cuthbert*).

Priests were very usually buried with a chalice and paten; not consecrated, and often of some inferior metal, or wax. Occasionally also, in vestments; either entirely vested, or with a surplice and stole. Bishops were clothed for burial with more solemnity; as, for example, the bishops of Durham, in the "auncient tyme the accustomed burying of the bushopes was to be buried as he was accustomed to saye masse, with his albe and stole and phannell and his vestment, with a myter on his head, and his crutch [crozier] with him, and so laied in his coffine, with a little challice of sylver, other mettell, or wax; which wax challice was gilted verie fynly about the edge and knoppe in the myddes of the shanke of the challice, and aboute the edge of the patten or cover and the foot of it also was gilted; which challice was sett or laide upon his breast in the coffine with hime, and the cover thereof nayled downe to yt." *Rites of the Church of Durham*, p. 49.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the form of the chalice seems to have been short and low, and the bowl wide and shallow; the stem in the middle swelled into a bulb, called the knop, the foot or base being circular. One of the most remarkable examples of this period

is that long preserved at Rheims, and known as the "calice de St. Remi". This incomparable example of the skill of the workers in the twelfth century, is of gold encrusted with enamelled ornaments, gems, pearls, and filigree work of the most curious character. It measures in height 6½in., and the diameter of the cup is very nearly 6in.[1] The general form of the chalice at this period will be seen in the remarkable Wiltshire example of Berwick St. James. It is difficult to fix any approximate date for this English chalice, it is possibly of the thirteenth century, but there is nothing to show that it is not as early as the twelfth. The paten is of much later date, probably of the fifteenth.

In the treasuries of many of our English Cathedrals are preserved small chalices, found in the tombs of ecclesiastics, more or less perfect, usually of tin or pewter, but sometimes of more precious metal. The examples now kept in the treasury of the Cathedral at Salisbury are believed to have been removed from some of the early tombs, but from the hopeless confusion into which nearly all the places of sepulture of the early bishops have fallen, since the senseless removal of the original tombs by Wyatt, in the eighteenth century, any identification is now almost impossible. There is some evidence, or tradition at least, that the interesting silver-gilt chalice and paten, together with an episcopal ring and the fragments of a pastoral staff in wood, came out of a tomb supposed to be that of Bishop Longespee, who died in 1297. This was found when removing the pavement of the Lady Chapel in 1789. At any rate the form of the chalice would agree very well with that which obtained in the thirteenth century, the

[1] See *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii., where is an excellent woodcut of this chalice, together with a valuable paper by the late Albert Way, F.S.A., on "Vessels and Appliances of Sacred Use".

bowl being wide and shallow, the stem and foot circular. This vessel is decorated with foliated chasing, with an ornamental knop, and is in fairly good condition.

In the fourteenth century chalices were made taller, the bowls assumed a more conical form, being narrow at the bottom, and having the sides sloping straight outwards; it would, however, be difficult to quote any existing English example of this period. The round form of the base of the chalice had now given way to the hexagonal, to prevent its rolling when placed on its side to drain—a custom which held its ground for a long way into the Reformation.

In the fifteenth century they became broader at the base, and towards the end of that century, and beginning of the sixteenth, the bowls became almost hemispherical in form. We have, happily, a very fine and well-preserved example of the latter part of this period in the Wylye chalice. There are now about a dozen specimens known of English chalices, ranging from the middle of the fifteenth, to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, for the most part still in use in the parish Churches to which they originally belonged; and this is all, as far as we know, that is left of the numberless beautiful objects of Church plate that existed all over England at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, and, to a smaller extent, for some years later.

The necessary adjunct of the chalice, the paten—a small silver plate, slightly sunk in the middle, and frequently ornamented in the centre with some sacred device in engraving or enamel—is more often found. A good example is preserved in the parish of St. Edmund's, Salisbury. This paten bears the hall-mark of the year 1533-4, it was, therefore, made just on the eve of the Reformation. It is not likely that much new Church plate was after-

wards manufactured during the remaining years of Henry VIII.

Some half-dozen cups made in the time of Edward VI are still in existence. The chalice and paten belonging to the Church of Hunstanton, having the date-letter of 1551, indicate the great change that had already taken place; the form of the bowl is slightly bell-shaped, the central boss of the stem of the earlier examples is replaced by a small collar, and the general appearance is much more like the heavy seventeenth century forms, than the later and well-known regulation shape of Queen Elizabeth's time. The size, too, is large and adapted to the use of the congregation, as, after 1547 the communion in both kinds was administered according to the practice of the early Church.

There is abundant evidence to show that the value of old parish Church plate was very great in the reign of Edward VI, notwithstanding the wholesale spoliation by his father. It was not until the last year of Edward's reign that the confiscation of parish Church plate was decided upon. In 1553 a commission was issued for the seizure of all goods not absolutely needed for parish Churches, allowing in every Church one, and in larger Churches two chalices to be left for the administration of the holy communion. Returns were made under this commission of all Church goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments yet remaining. These inventories relating to the Churches of Wiltshire unfortunately no longer exist, but a list of the parishes in which a niggardly single "cup", and the bells, were left is to be found in the twelfth volume of the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*. The Commissioners were Sir Anthony Hungerford (of Black Bourton, Oxon, Kt.), William Sherington, Kt., and William Wroughton, Kt.

Such chalices as were left in the Churches were, necessarily, of the old form, for it is not probable that any further change would take place during the time of Queen Mary. In the reign of Elizabeth, however, another sweeping change occurred. The evil estimation in which the reformers of Elizabeth's time held the pre-Reformation communion plate caused them to entertain scruples and prejudices against its eucharistic use. Accordingly we find Parker and Grindall, with possibly some other Anglican prelates, about 1567, issuing certain articles and injunctions requiring the disuse of "massing chalices", and the substitution of "decent communion cups". The churchwardens' accounts of this period contain frequent entries of the sale of the one class of chalice, and the purchase of the other. That some of the so-called "massing chalices" escaped was probably owing to the bishop in some localities holding less strong reforming views, and dealing more gently with the "Injunctions". The beautiful early chalice and paten belonging to the outlying parish of Nettlecombe, Somerset, were probably preserved to our own time by the ingenious manœuvres of the churchwardens in 1549, who legally transferred them temporarily to "Master John Trevylyan Esqueyer" of the same parish, until the evil days had passed.

From about the year 1562, a great change took place in the form and style of ornament of the chalice; for the next twenty years their uniformity of shape and pattern was so universal that they could hardly have been the result of the taste or caprice of silversmiths or Churchwardens. They are distributed pretty well all over England, several examples being found in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. It has not been ascertained by what authority this change was made. One reason, probably, was a desire to remove all traces of the former ceremonies

of the mass. The chalice still consists of its cup, the stem with a small knop, and the foot. The stem, though altered in form and character, still swells into a small knop, or the rudiments of one, the foot being invariably round instead of indented. The form of the cup, however, is altogether changed, and instead of being a shallow wide bowl, it is elongated into the form of a truncated cone, slightly bell-shaped. The form of the paten, too, is much changed, the sunk part of the plate is considerably deepened, the brim narrowed, with a fixed rim or edge, by which it is made, when inverted, to fit on the cup as a cover, while a foot is added to it, which serves also as a handle to the cover. A paten of the older shape is sometimes found at this period, and it may be doubted whether the cover was in all cases used as a paten for the general communicants, as the quantity of sacramental bread it would contain must necessarily be very small; unless, indeed, the bread at that time took the form of the wafer, which is probable. A good typical example of the Elizabethan chalice with its paten-cover is found at Dinton.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century this rigid rule as to the shape and form of the chalice began to be relaxed ; its general features were continued, but in a less artistic form ; they began to degenerate into the heavy cumbrous shape which became almost universal during the whole of the seventeenth century. The foliated strap-work ornament of the Elizabethan period in a great measure disappears, and is sometimes replaced by the coat of arms of the donor. For the next hundred years there was no attempt made to give an ecclesiastical character to such new plate as was required.

Amongst the first to call attention to the still existing specimens of ancient Church plate, and to publish careful drawings of the then known examples, were the authors

of the *Specimens of Ancient Church Plate*, as long ago as 1845. One of the most active editors was an old friend, and first secretary of the Wilts Archæological Society, the Rev. W. C. Lukis. A somewhat curious example is there figured of a small chalice then belonging to the Rev. E. J. Phipps, rector of Devizes. It is made up of three parts (bowl, stem and knop, and base), which screw together. This piece has no hall-mark; there is no reason to suppose that it ever belonged to any Church in Wilts, nor is it certain that it is of English make.

Thanks to the earlier researches of Mr. Octavius Morgan, and the later amplified lists given by Mr. Cripps, in his excellent work on *Old English Plate*, we are now enabled, not only to fix the real date, but in many instances the actual maker, of existing specimens, from the hall-marks which are found, with few exceptions, on all English plate, both ancient and modern. It may be as well here to mention what marks are to be looked for, and generally found.

They usually consist of four :—

I.—*The leopard's head.* This royal symbol has been in use certainly as early as 1300. The so-called crowned leopard's head was probably an early sign of the king's mark. It is, however, not a leopard at all; the heraldic "leopart" of the royal arms of England means a lion passant guardant. The lion's head crowned will be found generally on all pieces.

II.—*The maker's mark.* Until about the middle of the sixteenth century the worker's or maker's mark consisted of a certain symbol or trade sign. Most shops in early times had a sign by which they were known. This custom of hanging a sign-board has hardly yet died out. Afterwards, the two initial letters of the maker were used instead

of the previous emblem, and so continues to the present time.

III. *The annual letter.* This is the important mark which indicates the year in which the piece was made and assayed by the goldsmiths' guild. A cycle of twenty years ran through twenty letters of the alphabet, beginning with the letter A. At the commencement of each cycle the form of the letter was changed; varieties of the Lombardic letters were succeeded by Black-letter, Roman letter, Court hand, etc. The changes were rung on these forms so as to give a sufficient distinction of shape in each cycle. It requires considerable care in determining the correct date letter of a piece, and it is necessary to refer to the printed lists, as the same letters are often repeated in different cycles with very slight alterations in their form. This applies especially to the earlier dates. The tables now published commence with the letter A of Henry VI—1438-9. Any existing examples of the first two or three cycles are excessively rare; at present only one is known of the first, namely, that of the Lombardic *h* found on a spoon given by Henry VI to Sir Ralph Pudsey.[1] It should be mentioned that the date-letter is changed, not on the first of January in each year, but on St. Dunstan's Day, some time in the month of May.

IV.—*The lion passant guardant.* This will be found on all pieces since about 1545.

There are small variations in these marks which make it necessary to consult the printed lists in order to determine their exact significance. It often happens that, from indistinct marking or too much cleaning, the date-letter is uncertain, or not to be found. In this case the form and fashion of the piece will help to determine the approximate

[1] This once famous spoon, supposed to date from 1445, is now believed to be much later. See p. 193.

date. The above remarks refer to the London hall-marks. There are a few provincial ones, such as Norwich, Exeter, etc., but examples of these are not likely to be found amongst specimens of Wiltshire Church plate.

By a statute 2nd Henry VI [1423], it was ordained that "no goldsmith or jeweller should sell any article of silver unless it was as fine as sterling, nor before it be touched with the Touch, and marked with the workman's mark or sign, under a penalty of forfeiting double the value". The cities of York, Newcastle, Lincoln, Norwich, Bristol, *Salisbury*, and Coventry, were to have divers Touches, and no goldsmith to sell any gold or silver wares, but as it is ordained, in this City of London. Some of these provincial cities, at a later period, had a special "Touch" or assay mark of their own, but there is nothing to show that Salisbury ever made use of the privilege. In the Corporation accounts of that period no entries are found which throw any light on the matter.

As Mr. Cripps well says:—

"The Church plate of the last century was well suited to the Churches of the period; fortunately, older Churches in most cases possessed some better plate, acquired at an earlier period, and well would it be if this were still so, and fewer Elizabethan communion cups were seen in the windows of the modern silversmith. Many of them are made of the very same silver as the ancient chalices which they replaced, vessels that had, perchance, belonged to their parishes from time immemorial. It is to be feared that they are constantly parted with for the mere price of the silver, by those who are in ignorance, or are regardless of the curious historical associations which surround these ancient and interesting relics."

Old Plate in the Tudor Exhibition.[1]

The Tudor period, as a whole, must be considered as rather destructive in the matter of fine old plate than constructive. In the early years of the sixteenth century, the gradual dying out of the Gothic taste, and the tardy introduction of the Renaissance, together with the impending changes in the status of the religious bodies, both regular and secular, made this period one hardly favourable for the goldsmith's art. The artistic works in the precious metals belonging to the laity had always been liable to be drawn upon in troublous political times; this did not apply in anything like the same degree to the artistic possessions of the church. Here the accumulation of decorative objects, many of them dating probably from the rich periods of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, must have been enormous. The custom too, of presenting to the chantry chapels, by their founders, of richly ornamented and heraldically enamelled objects, must have added largely to the accumulated treasures of that time. This is abundantly shown by the inventories of these precious objects still left to us; but alas! the inventories alone remain to tell the tale. The first great confiscation of these treasures took place at the dissolution of the monasteries and chantry chapel establishments by Henry VIII. The church plate and goods of the parish churches were not interfered with until the end of the reign of Edward VI, when an equally clean sweep was made of all that remained.

The theory, or rather the excuse was, that the proceeds of all these seizures of rich artistic treasures, as well as broad acres, should go towards the "augmentation" of

[1] From the *Reliquary*, vol. iv (New Series).

the national funds, but in the end it was found that the augmentation applied mainly to the pockets of those who had unscrupulously possessed themselves of the plunder, partly in the time of Henry VIII, and still more in the weaker hands of his young successor, Edward VI. If it had not been for the circumstance that the universities, as well as city companies and guilds, were strong enough and willing to look after and keep their artistic possessions, scarcely any of the mediæval plate would have come down to us at all. It is from these sources that nearly all the existing examples come, by which we learn the value and extent of the artistic loss this country sustained in the sixteenth century.

The plate brought together by the promoters of the Tudor Exhibition is contained in a single case, and consists of many highly interesting objects, almost entirely of the sixteenth century; the greater part Elizabethan, of the second half of that period. In another room is a case filled with newly gilt copies of a large number of the finest pieces of rich mediæval plate still in existence. The casts are very well done, but the more delicate ornamentation suffers in the process of transfer, and the absence of patina and charm of the original pieces make the reproductions very different things from the old ones.

The most curious object exhibited is the small ivory cup and cover which belonged to St. Thomas [Becket] of Canterbury. It is somewhat in the shape of a flat mazer bowl. This rather cumbrous-looking piece is nearly hidden by the elaborate mounting, which retains a good deal of the late Gothic taste, with germs of the Renaissance. The hall mark carries the date 1525. The cover is surmounted by a figure of St. George and the dragon; the armour of the saint, however, appears to be of earlier date than 1525. The whole is ornamented with perforated leaf-work, and is

richly jewelled. Around the band is inscribed VINVM . TVVM . BIBE . CVM . GAVDIO. On the lid a similar band with ESTOTE . SOBRII, the words alternating with the letters T.B., entwined with the labels of a mitre placed between them, and coupling them together, with pomegranates on either side. It is stated that this cup belonged to Sir Edward Howard, standard bearer to Henry VIII, and was left by him to Katharine of Aragon, who left it back to the Howard family. It is lent by the Duke of Norfolk.

Amongst the earlier pieces are a couple of silver-mounted mazer bowls, of maple wood, lent by All Souls College, Oxford. The earliest of them is the only example shown, made before 1500; this retains the "print" or central boss at the bottom of the inside of the bowl; it consists of the sacred monogram on a field of dark blue enamel. The date *circa* 1480-90. The second is a fine standing mazer, with bands of silver gilt. The foot is formed of a short gadrooned stem, with a sort of reeded capital, and a double base, with a beautiful open floral cresting.

Everything connected with the history and use of these ornamental drinking cups, called mazers, has been so fully given and illustrated by Mr. St. John Hope, in his admirable paper in the fiftieth volume of *Archæologia*, that it only now remains to discover and preserve such examples as are left to us. Several good mazers have been found to be in use in some country churches, and it is still possible that others exist in out-of-the-way places, for the amount of silver used in their decoration was too small to cause their destruction in necessitous times for the sake of the metal.

A small chrismatory of rock crystal, exhibited by Mr. Franks, is mounted in silver-gilt, *temp.* Henry VIII, and engraved with the letters H and K entwined with cord,

springing from a heart. This charming little object might have formed part of an altar service made for Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon.

A fine tazza-shaped cup and cover, lent by Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is gadrooned and covered with a sort of imbricated pattern of acorns. The central portion of the cover is engraved with the rose and fleur-de-lys, the knob of the lid is overlaid with a Gothic foliated ornament, and a large Tudor rose engraved at top. It bears the hall mark of 1525.

Another interesting piece, lent by the Barber-Surgeons' Company, was given to them by Henry VIII; it bears the hall mark of 1523. It has undergone some alterations; it was originally of the flat mazer shape, but has since had some new work added to the bowl and base, including four small suspended bells. The very beautiful flat cover, however, is intact; it is finely chased with the rose, portcullis, and fleur-de-lys, surrounded by scrollwork and foliage, and is surmounted by a broad button, on which are a lion and a greyhound supporting a crowned shield of the royal arms.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford, also shows a two-handled jar and cover, decorated all over with bold scrollwork, with a delicately chased band round the foot. This is of the date 1533, and is interesting, as the shape and ornamentation have lost all trace of Gothic character, and show the germ of what was afterwards the Elizabethan taste in ornamentation. This is well seen in the fine standing salt and cover, lent by the same College, and hall marked 1554; as well as in a smaller example exhibited by S. Montague, Esq. These have the drum-shaped body, and are boldly wrought in repoussé, with panels and strapwork of fruit and foliage, the covers being similarly ornamented. The South Kensington Museum has lately

acquired a magnificent central salt of this kind, which is one mass of fine repoussé decoration; this piece stands 18½ inches in height, and bears the year mark of 1586. It was very properly bought for the nation, together with five smaller pieces of the same character, but at the considerable cost of £2,100.

There is a very unusual and grotesque cup, exhibited by Alfred de Rothschild, Esq., in the shape of a great fish, with a figure of Jonah in the mouth, and a sea-monster holding a trident, astride the fish's back. This is supported by a stem consisting of four fishes, rising from a base richly repoussé with marine emblems. The hall mark is for 1570. The subject of this curious freak of the goldsmith's art is sometimes found in the very beautiful and costly jewels made about this time and earlier, richly decorated with enamel and precious stones; some of these were originally designed by Holbein, and formed an appropriate addition to the elaborate attire of the period. A charming specimen of this kind of jewel was seen in the fine portrait of Queen Mary, sent from the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries. In the centre was, what seemed to be, a large square pale sapphire, set in a rich frame, supported by two classical male figures, all enamelled in colours, with a very large pear-shaped pendant pearl. As the same jewel is shown on nearly all the portraits of the queen in the Tudor Exhibition, it is not impossible that it might represent the jewel sent to the queen before her marriage by Philip of Spain, and which was valued at 80,000 crowns (see p. 73).

Two of the most historically interesting objects here are the cups given to Sir Francis Drake, by Queen Elizabeth, about 1580, and lent by Sir Francis G. A. Fuller Eliott Drake, Bart. The first is a richly-mounted cocoa-nut, with a rim and bands of silver gilt. The cup rests on

a boldly modelled figure of a dragon, with extended wings; the cover is wrought with ships and sea monsters, surmounted by a model of the ship in which Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe. On three panels of the nut are engraved and gilt, the royal arms, those of Sir F. Drake with the date 1580, and a picture of Drake's ship and a number of prizes. This is probably English work, but there are no hall marks. The second is a grand cup and cover, of silver gilt, standing some two feet in height; the baluster stem rests on a series of lobes and medallions. The drum-bowl is covered with silver filigree, of precisely the same character as that found on the "Poison" cup of 1570, preserved at Clare College, Cambridge. It is rather remarkable that this presentation cup from Queen Elizabeth should not be of English make. It bears a foreign plate mark, and is probably German; for we are told that in London, in 1569, there were sixty-eight goldsmiths living in Chepe, besides some twenty in Lombard Street. The quantity of ornamental plate made in the earlier years of the reign of Elizabeth must have been very large. This is abundantly shown in the accounts printed by Nichols, in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*. The new year's gifts regularly presented to, and received from the queen, were immense. An exact inventory was made on a roll, and signed by her majesty. The value of the whole in each year cannot be ascertained; but some estimate may be formed of it from the presents of gilt plate entered of the gift to each individual, to the eighth of an ounce; which, in 1577-8, amounted to 5,882 ounces. Besides plate, an enormous quantity of presents were made to the queen of various articles of attire, and purses containing gold; all this shows Queen Elizabeth's inordinate love of money and costly apparel.

Very effective and artistic pieces were made about

this time by mounting the egg of the Ostrich or "Grypes eye"; they are generally the work of the best Elizabethan goldsmiths, the soft creamy colour of the egg-shell lending itself to the elaborate silver-gilt mounting, with artistic results. There is a very finely-proportioned cup of this kind exhibited by Lord Ducie, bearing the hall mark of 1584. At some later time the ostrich's egg has been broken, and is now replaced by one of silver-gilt, thus destroying the *raison d'être* of the mounting, as well as the general artistic effect.

In any collection of early plate brought together, some Elizabethan Communion cups are pretty sure to turn up. The numerous instances in which these interesting vessels have unfortunately been exchanged away from different parishes in order to get some quasi-mediæval chalice in its place, has made it possible for collectors to buy these things. Of the two or three examples found here, one possesses some interest on account of its mark; it is that of some local maker, the monogram S. L. has a star on one side, and a small cross on the other. This mark is found abundantly in Dorset on cups of about 1574, but has not hitherto been met with outside the county on plate in its original place. The present example was probably obtained by some silversmith in exchange or purchase from some Dorset parish. There are twelve examples shown of the well-known brown mottled ware jugs, all more or less elaborately mounted in silver-gilt, of the Elizabethan period; the neckband is usually of interlaced strapwork and repoussé with lions' heads, fruits, etc., the covers similarly ornamented and surmounted by a rayed button. The largest and finest specimen of these jugs is found at Colworth, belonging to Mr. Magniac. The preservation of so considerable a number of these mounted jugs is probably accounted for by the hardness of

the material, as well as the small quantity of silver used in the artistic mounting, thus making it hardly worth while to destroy the object for the sake of the metal, a fate which befel much of the early ornamental plate in later times. There are, besides, two small handled jugs of Venetian glass, similar in shape to those made of Fulham ware; they are mounted in the same taste. One belongs to Mr. Franks, and bears the hall mark of 1548; the second, of about the same period, was bought at the Strawberry Hill sale, by Mr. Dent, of Sudeley. On the bottom of the cover is a coat of arms in enamel. Quarterly 1 and 4 *Two bars within a bordure engrailed*, for Parr; 2 and 3 *Three water bougets*, for Ros, of Kendal.

Amongst the personal relics at the Tudor Exhibition are four pieces of blue and white Chinese porcelain, mounted in silver-gilt, probably rather late in the reign of Elizabeth, and bearing no hall marks. They are now lent, and were bought by Mr. Agnew, at a late sale at Christie's, from Lord Exeter's collection, for £3,181 10*s.*, a sum out of all proportion to the artistical value of the work. There is a certain historical interest, however, in finding these pieces at the house of the Cecils of Burghley. They consist of a long-necked bottle, mounted as a ewer, a bowl, and two dishes. The mounting consists of chased stands, with rims and connecting bands, ornamented with wreaths of foliage, etc.; the execution, however, is not equal to many of the smaller objects of a similar nature found in the exhibition. The porcelain, too, is not of fine quality, and is curious, because it must have been mounted in England soon after it was made in China. It is marked with the six marks of the Wan-leigh dynasty, A.D. 1573-1620. From the length of this reign there are numerous specimens found inscribed with this date, but the brilliancy of the blue colour, and the quality of the

paste, is considered inferior to that produced earlier in the sixteenth century.

The most attractive object amongst the mounted pieces is decidedly the charming jug of Rhodian ware, painted with a pattern of white oval leaves shaded with red, on a green ground. It is most tastefully mounted in the best Elizabethan work; the general design is that of a Persian-mounted and covered ewer. A long curved spout of silver-gilt, terminating in a beaked bird's head, is attached to the body by scroll-work. The rather small handle is of ware, as is found in the ordinary Persian or Rhodian jugs, and hardly balances the length of spout. This interesting piece bears the hall mark of 1597, and belongs to Mr. Franks. It only remains to add that a considerable number of spoons were exhibited, both with the Apostle and seal-head terminations, ranging in date from 1580 to the end of the century.

At an exhibition of spoons shown at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, in February last, the once famous "Pudsey" spoon, thought to be of the date 1445, was seen; it corresponds exactly with other specimens hall marked early in the sixteenth century. As there is now much more known about date marks than formerly, this spoon has, apparently with good reason, fallen from its high estate, and is relegated to the comparatively modern date of 1525. A far more important and remarkable object was, at the same time, sent for exhibition by Her Majesty the late Queen; no less than the celebrated coronation spoon, a part of the regalia. This invaluable relic has, so to speak, been under a cloud for some years; it was known, from documents discovered some time ago, that the regalia was newly made for the coronation of Charles II, and it was supposed that this spoon was remade with the rest; but when it was lately carefully

examined by those best able to judge, it was found that it neither was, nor could have been, the work of any goldsmith of Charles the Second's time. It is, beyond all doubt, the ancient coronation spoon, the date being probably early in the thirteenth century. This beautiful object is engraved in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*. Some parts of the stem appear to be earlier even than the thirteenth century; the flat surface of the handle has been enamelled in blue and green, some portions of which have disappeared; it has also four pearls inserted.

Seal of the Deanery of Shaftesbury.[1]

J. E. Nightingale, Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Wilts, exhibited the matrix of a curious seal, lately found in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, accompanied by the following remarks :—

The seal is that of the deanery of Shaftesbury. From 1218 to 1542, Shaftesbury, in the county of Dorset, was in the diocese of Salisbury; it was then added to the newly-formed diocese of Bristol. In 1836 it again reverted to that of Salisbury.

The seal is of pointed-oval form $1\frac{7}{16}$ inch long. The device is a Saracen's head, with a wreath or fillet twisted round it, and a long pointed beard. The legend is "✠ ✶ Sigillu' ✶ offic̃ ✶ decanat' ✶ shafton'." Mr. Dansey, in his *Horæ Decanicæ Rurales*,[2] engraves several examples of the few remaining seals of rural deans. The subject most frequently found is that of the Blessed Virgin and Child. He also gives a copy of a seal belonging to the deanery of Breccles, in the diocese of Norfolk, which corresponds pretty exactly with the one now produced. It has the same sort of fillet tied round the head, but the bearded face is somewhat less grotesque than the Shaftesbury example.

Mr. Dansey thinks it might represent the head of St. John Baptist. This seal of the deanery of Breccles, the collations to which commenced in the year 1420, and closed in 1466, has been well engraved in the seventh volume of the *Transactions of the Norfolk Archæological*

[1] From *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 20 May 1886.

[2] Vol. i, pp. 399 *et seq.*

Society; it was also exhibited at a meeting of the Archæological Institute,[1] and the device said to be that of a Saracen's head. The Shaftesbury seal is apparently of early fifteenth century date.

Appended to the history of the great Abbey of Shaftesbury, Hutchins, in his *History of Dorset*, gives the following passage :—

"In this monastery was an office of deacon of the great or high altar, who was presented by the abbess, and received institution from the bishop of Sarum, in whose registers thirteen deacons occur from 1318 to 1532."

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[1] See *Archæological Journal*, vol. v, p. 166.

Seals of Peculiars in the County of Dorset.[1]

J. E. Nightingale, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a number of matrices and seals of Peculiars in the county of Dorset, accompanied by the following notes :—

The seals which I now lay before the Society, principally from the county of Dorset, are of a class very little known. They belong to officials having ecclesiastical jurisdictions which are peculiar and exempt from diocesan control. These powers existed up to the time of the passing of the Act establishing the Court of Probate. Comparatively little was known about the history of Peculiars, until our late accomplished treasurer, Mr. C. S. Perceval, printed his excellent paper on this subject in the *Proceedings of the Society*, in January, 1872. Owing to the limited nature of these jurisdictions, probably very few impressions of these seals exist. Now that their use has passed away, and such matrices as we know of are of little artistic value, they threaten to disappear altogether; nevertheless there must still be many in the custody of the late registrars of the respective courts.

In 1847 all peculiar jurisdiction was abolished in the diocese of Salisbury. The royal chapels are still exempt; Westminster abbey, and St. George's chapel at Windsor, are still peculiars. In Dorset the royal peculiars were, as given by Hutchins, Wimborne Minster, Corfe Castle, Great Canford-with-Poole, Sturminster Marshall, and Gillingham. Of all these I exhibit either the matrices or impressions of their seals.

Wimborne Minster, formerly collegiate and a free royal chapel, was exempted in 1308-9. The seal is oval, and bears the effigy of the Virgin and Child, treated in a

[1] From *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 12 June, 1890.

very homely way; rays issue from the head of the Virgin as well as the Infant. The legend is:—" ✠ SIGILLVM D'NI OFFICIALIS DE WIMBORNE MINSTER 1685." Hutchins gives a poor engraving of this seal, together with another of the same size, the subject on which is a nondescript male figure under an arch, with bare legs, and rays issuing from the head, possibly meant for St. John the Baptist. The only part of the legend engraved on this seal is the word OFFICIALIS in the same position as the same word is found on the other seal. This looks very much like a seal ready made for any of the numerous peculiars in Dorset, the name to be filled in afterwards as wanted. The date 1685 placed above this no doubt belongs to the Wimborne seal of that date. The official of Wimborne still issues marriage licenses, one of which I produce with the seal attached.

CORFE CASTLE was a royal peculiar exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, but the rector received institution from the bishop of Salisbury before peculiar jurisdictions were abolished. In his capacity as official he proved wills, determined causes, and appointed surrogates. The seal of the peculiar is of pointed oval shape, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The legend is: SIGILLVM OFFICIALITATIS DE CORFFE CASTLE ANNO D'NI 1668." The subject is a large skeleton figure of Death carrying a dart and hour glass, a ghastly *memento mori* for a marriage license. The matrix of this seal is now in private hands, and is no longer in use. It is engraved in the eleventh volume of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*.

CANFORD AND POOLE. Walter of Salisbury founded the priory of Augustinian canons at Bradenstoke, Wilts, in 1139; he gave the churches of Canford and St. James, Poole, to that priory. It was afterwards possessed by the crown. The church of Canford was a royal and peculiar

jurisdiction, and, together with Poole, vested in the lord of the manor, who deputed some neighbouring clergyman to be his official. This seal of silver, with an oaken handle, is of oval shape, and is apparently, like most Dorset seals of peculiars, of the seventeenth century. The subject consists of what seems to be a pair of doors under an ogee arch, with a large vacant shield below. There is no legend attached. Marriage licenses are still issued by the vicar of Canford.

Sturminster Marshall. The rectory, which included several other parishes, was anciently a possession of the alien priory of Pont Audemer. In 2 Henry V, the lands of alien monasteries were given to the crown. Since 1475 the patronage has been in the provost and fellows of Eton. The seal of this peculiar is of slightly oval form, the subject is a seated figure robed and wearing a square cap, holding an open book in his left hand. The legend is: "SIGILL, PECULIVR (*sic*) DE STVRMINSTER MARSHALL &c. 1688." The matrix of this seal has lately been acquired, and is now exhibited by the Rev. J. Cross, vicar of Sturminster Marshall.

Gillingham. The peculiar of Gillingham seems to have been manorial. The cast of the seal which I now show is of silver; it is of pointed oval form, and bears the arms and crest of Sir Edward Nicholas. The legend is: "SIGILLVM OFFICII PECVLIARIS DE GYLLINGHAM, 1664." Sir Edward Nicholas was lord of the manor and liberty of Gillingham, which he acquired in 1660. He was one of the principal secretaries of state, and a great favourite of Charles II, who granted him an augmentation of arms. In Hoare's *Hundred of Alderbury*, p. 92, is a woodcut of his private seal, engraved by Thomas Simon, similar to the one now produced, bearing his new and ancient coats quartered. His arms are: quarterly, 1

and 4, *on a cross a crown*; 2 and 3, *a fess wavy between three ravens*; and crest, *on a wreath a lion passant.*

Besides the royal peculiars in the county of Dorset, the dean of Salisbury gave institution and induction to the unusually large number of 37 parishes, the churches of which were peculiar under his jurisdiction. Each Dorset peculiar probably had at one time a seal of its own, but at present I do not know of the existence of any. The official seals used by the dean of Salisbury are several in number.

No. 1. Quoted by Mr. Perceval, is the seal now used by the Dean and Chapter, and so much worn as to be nearly obliterated. It represents the Assumption of the Virgin. The legend is corrupt Gothic.

No. 2. Official seal of the dean, St. Osmund in the upper compartment.

No. 3 Another seal for the same purpose, with a demi-figure of a priest under a canopy.

No. 4. Another of the dean's official; subject, the Virgin and Child. Engravings of all these will be found in Hatcher's *History of Salisbury*. The last three are of smaller size, and of an earlier and better period than the first.

I now add a cast of a fifth seal, bearing the following legend: "SIGILLVM COMINARII DECANI ET CAPITVM SARVM 1608." The subject is a full length figure of the Virgin carrying the infant Christ, who has rays issuing from the head. This seal shows the utter decadence into which the art had fallen; it is almost grotesque in its treatment.

In the *Proceedings of the Society*, of 1886 a notice will be found of a seal of early fourteenth century date, now in the British Museum, supposed to have been used by the dean of Salisbury as chief official of the peculiar. It bears

the effigy of the Virgin and Child, but the legend is only "AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA." It was found amongst some old documents belonging to dean Pearson, who was the last of the Deans of Salisbury who held peculiar jurisdictions. Lastly, it may be mentioned that our Society possesses the matrix of the seal of the deanery of Sunning, in the county of Berks, one of the dean of Salisbury's peculiars. See *Archæologia*, vol. iii, p. 414.

Notes on the Ecclesiastical Exhibition at Rome, 1870.[1]

Even at this late date it may be well to describe a few of the specimens contained in the large collection of objects of Christian Art relating to Catholic worship, that was exhibited in the cloisters within the baths of Diocletian.

The first in interest as well as in beauty, was the remarkable Tonicélla, the dalmatic said to have been used by Pope Leo the third, at the Coronation of the Emperor Charlemagne; the Pontiff reigned from A.D. 795 to 816. It has been preserved in the treasury of the Vatican; it is known that the palace of the Vatican existed in the eighth century, and that Charlemagne resided there at the time of his coronation by St. Leo. There is no reason to doubt that this interesting work of art dates from as early a period. The design, worked in gold and silver thread on a dark blue ground of silk, is evidently by the hand of a Byzantine artist. Indeed, it bears a very close resemblance, both in general treatment and costume, to some of the fine mosaic pictures, by Greek artists, still extant in the churches at Ravenna, and which date from the time of Justinian, and two following centuries. The form of the dalmatic is similar to that in use at the present time by the attendant priests of the celebrant at Mass, who is himself habited in the chasuble; it is of square shape both before and behind, with smaller square lateral pieces depending and forming loose sleeves. The principal subject is contained in a large circle; here is represented a colossal figure of our Lord in glory, seated on a rainbow and holding the gospels; the right hand is raised and open, but not giving benediction either in the Eastern or

[1] From the *Athenæum* of June 11th and 18th, 1870.

Western mode; the feet are resting on two winged circles, a mystical type mentioned by Ezekiel; surrounding Him is the angelic host, in figures of smaller size; beneath, in still smaller proportions, is a semi-circle of standing figures, representing the Apostles, Patriarchs, and Emperors—some wearing the regal costume of the Eastern Empire. The remaining space in the angles is filled with a stately figure, surrounded by a crowd of men of very diminutive size. This mode of varying the proportions of the figures according to the importance of the persons represented, is common in the pictorial subjects of Byzantine artists at that early period. The posterior surface is covered with a design of the Transfiguration. Our Lord is ascending from Mount Tabor; the figures of Moses and Elias are placed on either side; below are seen three of the Apostles, shielding their eyes from the effulgence of the glory above. This conventional treatment of the subject has been followed pretty closely by Raphael, in his celebrated picture. The two subjects on the lateral squares represent the mystical institution of the Eucharist; in the one case, Our Lord is distributing bread to the Apostles from a table; in the other He gives the cup. The simple and homely treatment of these two scenes bears a strong resemblance to similar representations found on the incised stones of the early Christians. The different subjects are indicated by inscriptions in Greek characters; the remaining portions of the vestment are covered with small crosses, enclosed within circles. A very rich tone of colour is still retained; the dark blue silk of the ground was doubtless fabricated in the East; this is laid over an equally rich mass of red silk, with several layers of some coarser material beneath; the orphreys of gold and silver thread have even now a subdued richness. The size is enormous; it could hardly

have been worn by any man of ordinary stature; it was probably never much used; this, together with the thickness of the material, may account for the excellent state of preservation in which we now find it.

The remaining embroideries which make up this most interesting collection were brought from the treasury of the Cathedral at Anagni. This town is situated just beyond the Alban Hills, at no great distance from Rome; it supplied several Pontiffs to the chair of St. Peter during the middle ages. Here are preserved the vestments of Innocent the Third, A.D. 1198-1216. They consist of a chasuble and two dalmatics, and correspond very well with that date. They were probably made in Sicily, where, at that time, very beautiful works of art of many kinds were produced. The mixture of Byzantine and Romanesque designs gives to these works a marked character. The ground of these vestments is of coarse silk, of that peculiarly rich red colour which is still made in the Levant; the embroideries are in massive gold thread, and mainly covered with a pattern consisting of foliations and circles, containing the winged lion, the spread eagle, and birds in pairs. The chasuble alone is ornamental with a band of orphreys, representing Our Lord giving benediction according to the Latin rite; also the Virgin, King David, and the Ancestors of Christ.

The objects belonging to Pope Boniface the Eighth have a different origin altogether; the previous works of St. Leo, and Innocent the Third, were, in a great measure, Eastern in their manufacture and character; those of Boniface the Eighth, A.D. 1294-1303, are purely Northern. The cope and other vestments belonging to the Pontiff are worked in fine gold thread upon a base of coarse linen cloth; in many parts the gold has worn away, and has everywhere lost its brilliancy. Their interest

consists in the peculiar treatment of the subjects; the designs are enclosed in large circles and quatrefoils; they correspond so exactly with the rich mosaic stained glass of the thirteenth century found in the churches of France and England, that it is difficult to believe that they had other than a common origin. The counter parts of this conventional mode of treating sacred subjects,—the forms of the foliage, the minor details of the work,—are all to be found in the fine windows of the Sainte Chapelle, in Paris, and in similar works in some of our own cathedrals. It is known that English workers in embroidery had a great reputation from an early period, and it is far from improbable that these vestments had an English origin. The mitre of Boniface is also shown; this is of the low, peculiar form in vogue at that time, and differs widely from the towering masses now used by the Fathers of the Council at the present day. The material is of fine twilled linen, decorated in front with effigies of St. Nicholas, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, the ground being powdered with crosses, stars, and crescents in gold. The pastoral staff and reliquary of the same Pontiff are composed of Limoges *champleve* enamel, and very well preserved; thus completing the episcopal equipment of an Italian prelate with works, in all probability, fabricated in France and England during the thirteenth century.

There only remains to notice a piece of embroidery, also from Anagni, in the form of an altar-frontal or antependium; it is worked on a fine linen ground, with the design most carefully painted before the orphreys were added. It represents the Crucifixion in the form of an *arbor vitæ;* the branches of the Tree of Life terminate in medallions of the apostles and saints; who all point towards the Saviour as the life-giving power. Over the Cross is represented the pelican feeding her young from

her own breast. This example differs in treatment and make from all the rest; it is probably Italian work of the thirteenth century. A band of orphreys, bearing shields of arms, is added; but this possibly did not form any part of the original work.

The Treasury of the great Basilica of St. John Lateran can only produce two objects of archæological interest; they are processional crosses of considerable size. The earliest may date from the seventh century; it is in the form of a Greek cross, with the lower limb slightly elongated, and covered with plates of repoussé silver and gilt. The principal subjects are, the Creation of Man, the Fall, and the sacrifice by Abraham. These are in high relief, and are enclosed within circular medallions which encrust the cross and vary its outline. This is an interesting example of early working in metal; a somewhat similar object is preserved in the Cathedral of Ravenna, dating from the sixth century. The other cross is of similar form, and was probably copied in some measure from it; it bears the date 1451; it has retained hardly any trace of Gothic character, and the workmanship is not remarkable.

The Pope has contributed a large number of chalices, mitres, etc., including the tiara presented by the Queen of Spain, also a chalice and monstrance bespangled with diamonds, representing an enormous money value, but having very little artistic interest. There is, however, one object worth recording; it is a Pax formed of a large sardonyx, with the Resurrection of our Lord cut in low relief; it is richly mounted in the Louis Quatorze style, and bears the royal arms of England, surmounted by a cardinal's hat, a relic in all probability of the Stuart family. Amongst the examples brought from St. Peter's, the only noticeable things are a fine crucifix and pair of candelabra

in or-molu, of large dimensions, and in the style of the Renaissance, designed by Bernini. These were probably done at an early period of his long career.

The Prince Borghese has contributed a case with many artistic objects, principally of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most striking object among them is a set of altar furniture, consisting of a crucifix, candelabra and vases, formed of the richest emerald green Venetian glass, and mounted elaborately in or-molu, in the Renaissance style. The effect is good and original.

This fairly exhausts all the Art-treasures of the Exhibition, nor is there anything in the modern work of the Romans that in any degree supplies the place of those mediæval works which have now become so scarce in the land of their birth.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from some Notices of "Church Plate in the County of Dorset".[1]

"The model of what such a treatise should be."—W. J. Cripps, F.S.A. ("Old English Plate," Fourth Edition).

"It is much to be desired that all writers and compilers of books on ecclesiastical and ecclesiological matters should be induced to go about their work as systematically as Mr. Nightingale. The result is eminently satisfactory; it is hardly possible to dip anywhere into the book without coming upon something worthy of note."—*The Saturday Review*, May 17, 1890.

"Mr. Nightingale has done good service to all among us who care to know what Pre-Reformation Plate has come down to us in the county of Dorset. This is a most carefully compiled volume. It is impossible to give extracts. On almost every page is to be found something of interest."—*Notes and Queries.*

"A few years ago such a monograph as this could hardly have been produced. This brief abstract of Mr. Nightingale's conclusions will serve to show the excellent quality of his work."—*The Academy.*

"A very interesting book, abounding with references to personal and county history."—*The Spectator.*

"Mr. Nightingale has earned the gratitude of every antiquary by the issue of this excellent volume."—*The Antiquary.*

"Mr. Nightingale is an acknowledged authority upon the subject on which he writes, and which he has carefully studied longer than most people."—*The Reliquary.*

"Every antiquary who is interested in the question of Church Plate, and every clergyman in the diocese of Salisbury, ought to possess a copy of Mr. Nightingale's book. We can only thank him for having contributed a valuable addition to the antiquarian records of the English Church."—*The Church Times.*

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[1] The *Church Plate of Dorsetshire*, with extracts from the Returns of Church Goods by the Commissioners of Edward VI [1552]; by J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A.; twenty-three full page and other illustrations. Royal octavo, *Salisbury* 1889.

THE CHURCH PLATE OF WILTS.[1]

The appearance of the second and concluding volume of Mr. Nightingale's exhaustive work on the church plate of the diocese of Salisbury is invested with a mournful interest by the circumstance that, although its accomplished and painstaking author was happily spared to complete his task, he did not survive to witness the publication of the final result of his researches. Only a month ago it was our sad duty to record that Mr. Nightingale's life had ended with the completion of the great work of his latter years, and that the *finis* of his treatise was also the *finis* of his earthly labours. We have now to attempt the examination and description of the second portion of the important addition to the antiquarian records of the Church of England which he undertook at the instance of the Bishop of the Diocese; and we do so with the feeling that we are inspecting a monument which one of the worthies of Wiltshire was unconsciously occupied during the last years of his life in raising to his memory. We say "unconsciously", because Mr. Nightingale was one of the most modest and diffident of men, and when he acceded to the Bishop's request that he would write an authentic account of the church plate of every parish in the diocese of Salisbury he had no thought of increasing his own reputation, but was wholly animated by the desire of devoting his antiquarian knowledge and his untiring industry to the service of the Church to which he belonged, and the diocese which included the county of his birth. The fact remains, however, that in the volumes describing the church plate of Dorset and Wilts their author has reared a monument to himself which must endure as long as the importance of preserving a sense of the continuity of our ecclesiastical history is recognised among us. The task that Mr. Nightingale undertook was no light one. As we said when recording the death of this distinguished antiquary, it "demanded in the first place a large amount of organising power and the construction of elaborate tabular returns for issue to the incumbents of the various parishes in the diocese"; and, moreover, the material "when collected had to be carefully and minutely examined, and then commenced a long work of verification and classification, generally

[1] *The Church Plate of Wiltshire*, including that part of the county now in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol; by J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A., fifty-five full page and other illustrations. Royal octavo, *Salisbury* 1891.

involving a personal visit to each parish". In this work of visitation, so far as the northern part of the county of Wilts was concerned, Mr. Nightingale, as previously stated in the *Journal*, and as the title page and preface of the work record, was ably assisted by the Rev. E. H. Goddard.

Turning to the consideration of the large and handsome volume before us, we can only repeat the verdict which that eminent authority Mr. W. J. Cripps, F.S.A., passed upon its predecessor, "The Church Plate of Dorset". It is "the model of what such a treatise should be". Nothing could surpass the care and accuracy with which it has been prepared, and, moreover, it is admirably written and arranged, is profusely and beautifully illustrated, and neatly bound. The plates comprised in the work are no fewer than fifty-five in number, and are, almost without exception, of the first order of artistic merit. Conspicuous among them for interest and excellence are the reproductions of the coffin chalice and paten, Salisbury Cathedral, the 1663 candlestick in the same fane, the 1662 alms dish of St. Martin's, Salisbury; the fine Elizabethan flagon possessed by Fugglestone St. Peter; the Anglo-Saxon vessel preserved at Wilton; the Elizabethan cup belonging to Netherhampton; the Durrington paten of 1691; the Jacobean standing cup of Barford St. Martin; the fine mediæval chalice of Ebbesbourne Wake; the Teffont Ewyas tankard of 1572; the very ancient chalice of Berwick St. James and the later paten of the same parish; the mediæval chalice of Codford St. Mary, and the almost contemporary paten of Orcheston St. Mary; the very interesting and well-preserved chalice of Wylye; the fine Corsley paten; the handsome Elizabethan flagon at Heddington; the striking chalice at Wootton Bassett; the interesting fifteenth century chalice preserved at Manningford Abbas; the Elizabethan and Jacobean cups of St. Mary and St. Sampson, Cricklade, to the latter of which an interesting history attaches; the handsome and perfectly-preserved mediæval chalice at Highworth; the fine piece of mediæval plate in use at Lacock; the altar candlesticks presented by the late Mr. Joseph Neeld to the church of Leigh Delamere; and various sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century chalices and patens figured in the plates which are included in the latter portion of the volume. Among these may be mentioned the representations of the Christian Malford, Long Newnton, and Broughton Gifford patens; the Alderbury, Enford, Kington St. Michael, Wroughton, Bishop's Lavington, and other cups; the fine non-ecclesiastical pieces at Alderton, Corsham, Foxley, Colerne, Lacock, &c., the curious bowl at Norton Bavant, and various foreign chalices. The work opens with a masterly outline of the history of the church plate of Wilts, in the form

of a preface. When the fact that Wiltshire contains no fewer than three hundred and sixty parishes is considered, together with the difficulty of reaching many of them, the extent of the task performed by Mr. Nightingale in collecting and digesting the scattered information available will be readily comprehended. "The present volume", he records, has cost the Editor the greater part of several years of more or less continuous, though pleasant, labour. Mr. Nightingale has turned to excellent account the materials collected by him. The descriptions of the plate existing in each parish are written with the clearness and precision that only a thorough acquaintance with the subject could give; and the arrangement of the work is simple and judicious. The bulk of the volume falls naturally under two headings. "Archdeaconry of Sarum" and "Archdeaconry of Wilts", and appended to these main divisions of the work are chapters on the plate of the Deaneries of Cricklade, Malmesbury, and Chippenham, now included in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol. Each Archdeaconry is subdivided into its rural deaneries, and the parishes of each deanery are arranged in alphabetical order. The volume also contains a chronological list of church plate in Wiltshire to the end of the eighteenth century, and two appendices, the first recording the ornaments and furniture given by Bishop Osmund to his church, A.D. 1078—1099; the second containing an inventory of the riches of the Cathedral, made by Master Thomas Robertson, treasurer, in the year 1536. A general index and an index of armorials complete the work.

Turning to the excellent historical introduction already referred to, we learn that the main features of the church plate in Wiltshire are the considerable number of mediæval pieces found in South Wilts and the many good examples of Elizabethan and later chalices in the northern part of the county. Pre-Reformation examples are in all fifteen in number, the greater part of these being found in the rural deaneries in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. A unique example of an early piece of plate, the thirteenth century chalice of Berwick St. James, is, however, no longer *in situ*, having, together with the later paten, been deposited some years back in the British Museum, after several hundred years of continuous use. The gift to the national collection was made, Mr. Nightingale records, after full consideration by the vicar, churchwardens, and parishioners, and with the concurrence of Bishop Moberly. Salisbury preserves in the treasury of its cathedral two other pieces of the thirteenth century plate, the "coffin chalice and paten" which, towards the end of last century, when Wyatt was casting everything into confusion, appear to have been found in the tomb of Bishop Longespée, who died in 1297. In

the body of his work, Mr. Nightingale gives a very full description of these interesting relics of Angevin times, and compares their details with those of other examples of thirteenth century work. The period just before and after 1500 is represented in Wiltshire by several good examples, including one at Ebbesbourne, of which an admirably executed engraving is given. There are two unusually fine chalices of the epoch immediately preceding the Reformation, one at Wylye, the other at Highworth. An admirable engraving of the Wylye chalice accompanies Mr. Nightingale's description of this well-known and very striking piece of sixteenth century work. The mediæval patens now in use in the county number eight, noticeable among which is the elaborately-engraved paten at St. Edmund's, Salisbury, dated 1533, and forming the subject of one of the plates in the volume, the illustration being two-thirds of the size of the sacred vessel. Corsley and Orcheston St. Mary preserve good specimens of the well-known type of paten of about A.D. 1500; and there are plain ancient patens at the small villages of Teffont Magna, Knook, and West Grimstead. It will be seen that Wiltshire has been much more fortunate than the sister county of Dorset in the quantity of mediæval church plate which it has retained. This, however, is saying but little when it is considered how small the proportion of that which has been preserved is to that which has perished. "The County of Wilts", writes Mr. Nightingale, "suffered very considerably from the first pillage of Church goods found in the larger monasteries by Henry VIII"; and he goes on to describe the havoc wrought at "Amesbury, Shaftesbury, and Wilton in the south, and Malmesbury in the north." The turn of the parish churches came next, all the church plate (excepting what was requisite for the administration of the Sacrament) being required by the King, because, wrote the contemporary historian, Strype, quoting the Royal spoiler's own words, "he thought . . . it should make things to be looked for that else peradventure would be lost; as church plate; which men said was daily conveyed away." Mr. Nightingale records that "the inventories giving full particulars of all the Church goods which came into the hands of the Wilts Commissioners of Edward VI. in 1553 do not exist, as in the case of Dorset and several other counties." The one remaining list (which is preserved in the Record Office) relates to the chalices and bells only. Among the information which it furnishes is the noteworthy circumstance that in no instance was more than "won cuppe or chalice" left for each parish. Early in the reign of Mary and her Spanish consort, the Government attempted to learn what had become of the Church goods confiscated under the wholesale seizure which took place in the last years of

Edward VI. The only document relating to this matter which is at present known to remain is an application to the Wilts Commissioners for further information, a copy of which is given by Mr. Nightingale. It is addressed to Sir William Wroughton, Knight, and John Beneham and John Pye, Esquires, from whom, it may be conjectured, little was obtainable but excuses for their inability to furnish the information demanded. Nothing, as is well known, was more vexatious to the bigoted and unhappy Queen whose disastrous reign preceded the advent of "the spacious times of great Elizabeth" than the meagre measure of success which attended her efforts to recover those Church possessions which her father and brother had confiscated to satisfy the needs of the State and the greed of their courtiers. Under Elizabeth the slender remnant of pre-Reformation plate which had survived the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI was still further reduced. Injunctions were issued for a change of form in the Eucharistic vessels, and as a rule the vessels were themselves changed, while, even in parishes where the mediæval church plate was retained, the hammer was commonly employed to transform a "massing chalice" into a "decent communion cup." Curious to say, the diocese of Salisbury, although presided over from 1560 to 1571 by the learned and virtuous Jewel, whose sympathies certainly inclined more in the direction of Geneva than of Rome, seems to have been comparatively unaffected by the injunctions in question. Mr. Nightingale remarks that there is nothing to show that Bishop Jewel moved in the matter, and he adds that his successor, Bishop Gheast, appears to have been equally unconcerned. With the accession of Bishop Piers (1577—1591) some active steps were taken, but these were confined to the two years, 1576 and 1577. The result of this comparative laxity has been that "there are more mediæval examples of Church plate in the neighbourhood of Salisbury than in any other similar district in England." We cannot avoid remarking, however, that when every allowance is made for the confiscations that took place under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and the injunctions issued under Elizabeth for the disuse of "massing chalices," and the substitution of "decent communion cups," it is evident that the disappearance of so much antique Church plate is not yet wholly accounted for. A perusal of Mr. Nightingale's pages suggests the reflection that clergymen, churchwardens, and parish clerks have something to answer for as well as crowned heads and courtiers, and that a good many survivals from Tudor times must have subsequently been alienated. Even in our own times valuable old plate has been foolishly or negligently parted with, and who is to say how many sins of this description preceding generations

may have been answerable for. Mr. Nightingale gives two interesting instances of very recent occurrence in which pieces of Wiltshire Church plate were sold or exchanged away but ultimately recovered again.

In the spring of 1887 (he writes) I received a letter from some unknown dealer in old silver asking whereabouts in Wiltshire was a place called Sampsonis, as he had a bit of old plate with that name marked upon it. I replied that I knew of no such place, but that if he would send me a copy of the writing I might be able to make it out. This he did, and I saw at once that it was an old chalice belonging to St. Sampson's, Cricklade. The inscription was "Calix eucharistiæ sancti Sampsonis de Cricklade, etc." I communicated immediately with the then Vicar, but it had already changed hands, and nothing more could be traced until it turned up for sale at Christie's in 1890, when it was fortunately recovered for the parish. The second instance shows the danger of alienating Church plate on which is inscribed the name of the parish to which it belongs, as it is pretty sure to be heard of again sooner or later. At Semley, in South Wilts, a former Rector, in 1874, bought a modern chalice and paten for £25. On this is inscribed, "In exchange for an old flagon and chalice valued at £10 5*s.* 6*d.* This was but a poor bargain for the parish, as the old silver flagon is now represented by "a glass vessel mounted in silver-gilt." It so happened that Mr. Bowles in his *Hundred of Chalke* noted down the particulars of the Church plate of Semley about 1827, but not quite correctly. From this we learn that the tankard-shaped flagon carried the arms of the donor, 1735—1757, and that the chalice was marked "Sembly, Wilts, 1741." Nothing more was heard of the matter until quite lately, when the chalice turned up in the private possession of a clergyman in Kent, who had lately acquired it. It is a massive cup in excellent condition, just of the form one would have expected to find made early in the last century, but it had grown much older in the interval, having fallen into the hands of a dishonest dealer. The inscription now is "Sembly, Wilts, 1514." Mr. Bowles, in copying the inscription, had transposed the figures 1714 to 1741, but there can be no sort of doubt that the cup is the same. The change from 1714 to 1514 had been made by adding a couple of strokes to the top of the figure 7 so as to make it into a 5; the peculiar form of the figure 7 in use at that period lending itself easily to the change. The inconvenient hall marks under the lip had been beaten out, but a slight indication of one of the shields is still discernible.

Here we must conclude our remarks on Mr. Nightingale's very valuable and interesting volume. There is much more in it to which

we should like to refer, for we have dealt but cursorily with the plate of the pre-Reformation period, have scarcely touched on the numerous Elizabethan cups, and have been compelled to pass over the many Jacobean, Carolean and Georgian specimens. We must, however, so far depart from the latter concession to the exigencies of space and time as to refer to the handsome standing Jacobean cup and cover at Barford St. Martin of the date of 1611, and the richly embossed Carolean dish, dated 1669, and made for Lord Chancellor Clarendon, which is in use at St. Martin's, Salisbury. These fine pieces of plate, as noted above, are both illustrated in the volume before us, and, like the grand Elizabethan tankard at Fugglestone St. Peter, are examples of pieces of plate now in Church use, but not originally intended for ecclesiastical purposes. In conclusion we have only to express once more our sense of the great value of Mr. Nightingale's work and of the extraordinary care and industry displayed by him in the performance of his important task. The two volumes in which he has furnished an exhaustive and authentic account of the Church plate of Wilts and Dorset constitute a treatise that is a masterpiece of its kind. No one interested in the subject of Church plate, whether clergyman or layman, ought to be without a copy of the work. Especially ought it to be considered an indispensable addition to the library of every clergyman in the diocese of Sarum.—*Salisbury and Winchester Journal, March 26, 1892.*

KING ALFRED'S COLLEGE
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Printed by George Simpson.